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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 567.—JANUARY 1946.

Art. 1.—THE FOREIGN SECRETARYSHIPS OF MR EDEN.

(December 1935 to February 1938 and December 1940 to July 1945)

AT the age of forty-eight, Mr Eden has already held the Foreign Secretaryship for nearly seven years and has gained his distinctive place among the notable holders of that great office. He came to it with all, and more than all, the conventional qualifications. He had deliberately prepared himself for it more thoroughly, probably, than any one of his predecessors; and he is the first who has been bred from the outset of his career in the new age of democratic diplomacy, when all intelligent—and many unintelligent—persons have their view on what the policy of Britain ought to be, when, in words of Sir Austen Chamberlain, 'foreign affairs' have become 'the affair' of all. Sir Austen, it is true, was the first Foreign Secretary to hold constant meetings with the Press, especially at Geneva, to which he was equally the first to proceed regularly for the Councils and Assemblies of the League of Nations. But Chamberlain, like Arthur Henderson and Ramsay MacDonald, had grown up in another political climate; Anthony Eden was initiated into politics when the traditions of Salisbury, Lansdowne, and Curzon already belonged to the past. Though stemming from the same social stratum as these last, Eden took naturally to the unconventional ways of a generation which loves informality. His method of doing business is preferably unceremonious. He has always spoken quite unguardedly to Diplomatic Correspondents, whom he has trusted without mishap; he courts the publicity which to-day none can avoid; he enjoys the cinema (on the news-reels of which he so often appeared); he goes

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hatless (shades of Lord Clarendon !); he transacts official business on the telephone and flies to speak intimately with foreign statesmen in Europe, Asia, and America.

Long before he became Foreign Secretary, Eden was training himself for the post. At Oxford he gained honours in Oriental languages (has any of his predecessors been proficient in both Persian and Arabic ?); and he has travelled widely in the Middle East as well as in Europe, thus acquiring a most valuable insight into the widely different workings of Eastern and Western mentalities. He visited Australia for an Imperial Press Conference in 1925; and next year he became P.P.S. to Sir Austen Chamberlain, then in charge of the Foreign Office. And before Anthony Eden assumed that charge himself he served there as Parliamentary Under-Secretary, and for a short time in 1935 he was Minister, without Portfolio, for League of Nations affairs. The accident of war supplemented these special qualifications by turning him into a soldier between 1915 (when he was eighteen) and 1919; and his military experiences left him a typical Englishman in his detestation of war and his zest for good soldiering. His delight in military life (renewed for a brief period in 1939) is equalled by his love of art, especially of the theatre and of painting. He has in fact the temperament of an artist, which can be a help in diplomacy but is a handicap in the rough stuff of statesmanship.

Eden made his entry into politics in that immediate post-war era when men had few convictions and many idols, when a certain moral flabbiness produced the state of mind epitomised in the French saying *Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*—how readily we understood the rise of Hitler, how slow we were to recognise evil! And we were slower still to react against it. Eden has always paid meticulous attention to public opinion; and until 1937 or 1938 there was certainly majority support for a policy of avoiding war and coming to terms with Hitler. Some there were, however, who faced the moral issue and regarded Hitler as the devil in human shape, under whom Germany was becoming a wild beast; and they actively urged a policy of caging the wild beast. These two opposite currents produced an inner conflict in the policy of successive British governments. Foreign Secretaries oscillated between trying to cage the wild beast and trying

to assuage him ; between making a reality of the German spectre of an *Einkreisungspolitik* and bringing Germany back into the comity of nations on terms of equality. Sometimes they tried to combine these two incompatibilities. Never has the wisdom of Lord Salisbury's paradox been made so manifest—that it is better to have a wrong policy than to have no policy at all. Anthony Eden inclined to and on the whole worked for the policy of encirclement. But he was also much swayed by the moods of a volatile generation. He shared all its early optimism and expressed its highest aspirations. He was devoted to the ideal of the League of Nations and believed in a new world in which competitive well-doing should take the place of clash of interests and conflict. 'Many of us who fought in the Great War,' he exclaimed, 'must have felt that if ever we survived, we must devote our energies to establishing in international affairs some rule of law and justice. Without that, peace can never be assured.' He was uttering the cry of young men sick of war, but who were soon to learn that it is not enough to wish for better things without being ready to suffer in their attainment.

Eden gained his first popularity as an idealist—a well-dressed, good-looking, man-o'-the-world idealist—but events and acquaintance with office checked any tendency to fix his aims beyond the limit of the practicable. So long as the regulation of national armaments by international agreement appeared to be a practical aim, none championed the work of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva more eagerly than he ; but as in quickening succession the Japanese generals and admirals, the creator of Fascism and the autocrat of Germany showed by word and act that they believed in radically different methods, Anthony Eden realised, and admitted that he realised, that policy can never shake off its traditional dependence upon armaments. One of the earliest impressions he obtained after he started work in the Foreign Office was that Britain was not strong enough by land or sea or air. He was, perhaps, a little slow to say so openly. In 1937 he could still say 'We do not believe in conflict. We believe in cooperation' ; but, if one cannot imagine Winston Churchill at any time uttering a sentiment so pleasing to the ears of the dictators, one must remember

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that Eden was then serving under two Prime Ministers who were called Mr Baldwin and Mr Neville Chamberlain ; and as soon as he felt able he changed his note and declared ' We are not prepared to stand and deliver at any one's call ; we offer cooperation to all, but will accept dictation from none.'

During his years of subordinate work in the Foreign Office, Anthony Eden had personal meetings with both Mussolini and Hitler ; and the fact that he finally broke with the policy of appeasement—if we may conveniently foreshorten our narrative—over a difference with Italy in 1938 rather than over the earlier difference with Germany about the Rhineland (1936), may have been due to the sharp personal clash which he had had with the Duce on his visit to Rome in 1935. At the time of this important episode in his career he was Minister without Portfolio for League of Nations affairs ; and he was commissioned by His Majesty's Government—though the proposal is generally believed to have originated from himself—to offer Italy certain concessions in Abyssinia, to which it was understood the Ethiopian Emperor would have agreed. Successive Emperors, it should be recalled, had signed a series of treaties with Britain, France, and Italy, which recognised the special interests of those three countries in this independent but backward African State ; and Eden was ready to admit that Italy had some justifiable pretensions there—as, for instance, to see Italian officials among the numerous foreign advisers of the Government at Addis Ababa and to send many more Italian settlers to the highlands. It was Eden's only concession to the spirit of the treaties of 1906 and 1928, which were frankly based upon the supposedly obsolete principle of zones of influence. He went to Rome with high hope of averting the war in Africa which was manifestly threatened. But Mussolini's pride was offended that so junior a member of the British Government should be the chosen emissary, and his appetite was by no means appeased by the morsels which that envoy brought upon his diplomatic platter. The Duce dismissed the young Minister's proposal brusquely ; the two men ' had a row ' ; Eden's one and only mission of appeasement was a total failure ; and he never forgot or forgave the personal rebuff he then received. Hitler, on his part, had at least

listened with outward courtesy to his arguments when he had gone to Berlin ; and Eden admitted after the German visit that he was not altogether unimpressed by the Fuehrer's argument that whereas the Treaty of Versailles had been unilaterally imposed on the Reich, and was therefore not regarded by him as binding, the Treaty of Locarno had been freely negotiated by the Reich and would therefore be scrupulously observed.

How utterly worthless was Hitler's assurance Eden learned within a few months of becoming Foreign Secretary for the first time. In March 1936 Hitler denounced the Treaty of Locarno and reoccupied the demilitarised Rhineland. He had made no attempt, as had previous German Governments in the case of the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, to obtain revision by negotiation ; his violation was flagrant and without any valid excuse ; and it was a direct challenge to the other signatories of the Treaty of Locarno, Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. The immediate reaction of M. Albert Sarraut and his French Government was that no negotiations of any kind should be begun with Hitler until he admitted that a one-sided repudiation of a Treaty was legally invalid and had withdrawn his troops from the Rhineland.

Hitler, however, had followed a well-known practice of German policy and made alluring proposals at the same time as he committed his act of brigandage—just as Frederick the Great offered Maria Theresa an alliance if she would acquiesce in the seizure of Silesia, and as Wilhelm II in 1914 ' guaranteed ' her integrity to Belgium if she would agree to the ' march through ' of his troops—which had already begun. In this month of March 1936, Hitler had drawn up an elaborate new plan for the peace of Europe ' for twenty-five years,' and he also offered to rejoin the League of Nations. He calculated that these proposals would dazzle the British public. He reckoned only too well. There had been much public advocacy of a revision of the Treaty of Versailles in this country ; and ' The Times ' gave expression to popular feeling when it headed a leading article on Hitler's treaty-breaking manœuvre ' A Chance to Rebuild.'

The last British ambassador in Berlin has left it on record that ' it might have been easy by vigorous action

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to discredit it (the Nazi movement) in 1935 or 1936.'* But that last chance was missed. Statesmanship clearly demanded that a stand be made against Hitler at the moment of the Rhineland coup; but statesmanship was dethroned by public opinion. Anthony Eden yielded to the pervading sympathy in this country with the fundamental claim of Germany to reoccupy what was after all, it was argued, part of her own territory. There was, of course, here as in all the other countries profound indignation and annoyance at the manner in which Hitler had asserted her claim. But the burst of angry comment, unaccompanied by action, only played into Hitler's hands; he harangued his Nazi battalions about being surrounded by enemies, who showed their real feelings as soon as Germany claimed her rights; and he rallied the German people more closely to himself than they had been up to that moment.

Eden handled the crisis with coolness, but took a line of studied moderation which was in its consequences calamitous. The success of the Rhineland coup set the National Socialists securely in the saddle, from which no further opportunity to unseat them was offered. The first French reaction had been right. No co-signatory of Locarno ought to have looked at Hitler's 'peace plan' unless and until Hitler had admitted his breach of international decency. A strong anti-Nazi sentiment still existed in Germany at that time; and we know now that Hitler himself had given orders that if the incoming German troops met a French army they were to avoid action. Germany was still weak. But we fell back on heated debates in a specially called meeting of the League Council, which entirely failed to impress the Germans.

Eden would probably have liked to take a stronger line, but he had not had time to establish, in the Cabinet or the country, the decisive authority, which in foreign affairs the Foreign Secretary should be able to exercise; nor had he developed the inner strength

' . . . to be

In the right with two or three'—

who would in this case have included Winston Churchill

* Sir Neville Henderson in 'Water Under the Bridges,' p. 209.

and Sir Austen Chamberlain. Eden did send a very firm Note to Berlin in which he asked the German Government some plain questions—In what conditions would they be ready to conclude binding treaties? Had their territorial ambitions now been satisfied? and others of the kind. The Note was stupidly criticised in the English Press for its 'tactlessness.' Nazi propaganda vigorously took up the suggestion of discourtesy and argued that it was impossible to settle anything if Germany were always mistrusted; and eventually Eden dropped his own 'Questionnaire' (as it had come to be called), although in Berlin a full reply had been prepared.* Hitler subtly seized the opportunity to cash in on British squeamishness by stating publicly that the Note had been allowed to lapse by the British Government 'for reasons which we all understand.'

Eden might have done well to resign then instead of two years later. But he incurred very little criticism at the time, his policy having reflected the public mind. And during those next two years he found a thoroughly congenial task in holding the balance in Spain, where civil strife had broken out. General Franco declared war on the semi-Communist regime of Madrid in July of that same year, 1936; and on the initiative of the French Government a policy of non-intervention was adopted by the greater Powers of Europe. Mr Eden is never so happy as when striving to reconcile the irreconcilable; and he showed himself at once the most zealous and the most honest of the non-interventionists. London became the seat of the non-intervention Committee of Great Powers. The struggle between Right and Left in Spain had its counterpart inside most countries in Europe; and the obvious danger was that the contagion of armed conflict would spread. Nor would the war have remained a Civil War; for by that time Germany and Italy were committed to Fascism; and across the Pyrenean boundary was the Socialist Government of M. Blum. Outside Spain the war would certainly have become a war between nations, and the danger was all the greater because Italy and Germany, while paying diplomatic tribute to the

* I was in Berlin at the time and was personally assured in both the official Foreign Ministry (von Neurath's) and in Ribbentrop's rival Nazi Foreign Office that answers were ready for every one of Mr Eden's inquiries.

policy of non-intervention, were notoriously affording valuable aid to Franco. In Britain sympathies were sharply divided. Mr Eden rendered a great, though unfortunately short-lived service to Europe in circumscribing the Spanish conflict; and he did it with so much understanding of the views of the Right and the Left that he held the general support of all Parties in his own country.

A by-product of the Spanish Civil War brought Anthony Eden one of the greatest successes of his first Foreign Secretaryship. In the late summer of 1937, mysterious attacks were made by submarines on merchant vessels in the Mediterranean. Those that were sunk were sometimes British and sometimes French, but never Italian; and although no attacking craft was identified nobody had any doubt but that the pirates sailed from Spezia or thereabouts. The 'non-Intervention' Powers were summoned to a conference at Nyon, in Switzerland; all were invited, including Italy and Germany—who declined the invitation. Two days sufficed to produce an Agreement which divided the Mediterranean into zones of patrol by warships, and authority was given to them to counter-attack and if possible to sink any submarine in the vicinity of an attacked merchantman. The attacks ceased forthwith. The success of the Conference was generally attributed to the Foreign Secretary, who came with a practical plan, carried the meeting with him, and established an international naval police force. As usual where Mussolini was concerned, Eden spoke out boldly. In the broadcast which he delivered from Switzerland before returning home he referred to these 'masked highwaymen' who constituted a kind of 'gangster terrorism of the sea.' The same boldness towards Hitler would have impressed both Hitler and Mussolini; boldness towards Mussolini alone did not much impress Hitler while it tended to drive Mussolini to Berlin for protection.

Yet it was about this time that Eden and the new Prime Minister, Mr Neville Chamberlain, picked out Sir Nevile Henderson (who had not long arrived at a South American Embassy) to go to Berlin and make a final attempt to come to terms with Hitler. Sir Nevile was one of the most talented and attractive members of the Diplomatic Service. Conciliatory by nature, he was a shrewd

observer, a clever psychologist, and a gifted recorder of events. He himself pleads guilty, in his *Diplomatic Memoirs*, to the 'besetting sin of love of the easiest way, or the line of least resistance.' He suffered moreover from a malady, which caused him to be absent from his post for four critical months from November 1938 to February 1939. Neither disqualification would necessarily unsuit him for a diplomatic post in a friendly country in time of profound peace. But conciliatoriness and ill health were the two very worst faults for an envoy whose business was, or should have been, to impress upon the hard and headstrong criminals of Nazi Germany that Britain was not decadent, would fight if Hitler's folly made it necessary, and, once in the fight, would never let go until Germany was defeated. Men of the right type could have been made available for the post—for instance, Sir Horace Rumbold or Sir Ronald Lindsay, who impersonated John Bull in their directness, taciturnity, and fine physique, who had both been in charge of the Berlin embassy in previous years and had gained the regard of the Germans. Men of military bearing are those whom the Germans understand best, respect most, and indeed make friends with most readily.

While Sir Nevile Henderson was cultivating the society of the Nazi leaders in Berlin, Eden faltered in Whitehall. On Feb. 16 of next year (1938), just after the fateful meeting between Hitler and Schuschnigg, the Foreign Secretary returned a series of evasive answers in the House, which encouraged the Germans to believe that Britain would accept the union of Austria with Germany without any hostile reaction—in spite of Britain's share in the joint guarantee of Austrian independence.

When Mr Chamberlain had succeeded Mr Baldwin as Prime Minister the political unity of the new Premier and his Foreign Secretary seemed at first to be complete. Eden was encouraged to take matters straight to 10, Downing Street, and decisions were swiftly and easily reached. But Prime Ministers who are initiated into the arcana of foreign questions do not take long to realise that after all the Foreign Secretary is their subordinate, and they begin to believe that they are not only senior but also wiser. So it was with Mr Chamberlain. And

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the embarrassment for Eden was the more acute because the Prime Minister, without much knowledge of foreign ways, liked to take counsel with his personal friends, first among whom was Sir Horace Wilson. This eminent Civil Servant was even less versed in foreign politics than Chamberlain; but he had been skilful in settling disputes between masters and men in British industry, and the Prime Minister fell into the fatal blunder of supposing that he would therefore be equally useful in settling disputes between one country and another. Soon Mr Chamberlain was writing a personal letter to Mussolini; and when the Italian dictator intimated to him that he had better come to Rome and see him the British Prime Minister was ready to go. He paid his visit and effected an Agreement with the Duce; but it was Lord Halifax and not Mr Eden who accompanied him on behalf of the Foreign Office. Eden had no relish for another confrontation in the Palazzo Venezia. He had moreover come to the conclusion that in England the spirit of resistance was by now proof against blandishment and terror alike. When he explained his resignation to the House of Commons on Feb. 20, he said,

'I do not believe that we can make progress in European appeasement . . . if we allow the impression to gain currency abroad that we yield to constant pressure. I am certain in my own mind that progress depends above all on the temper of the nation, and that temper must find expression in a firm spirit. That spirit, I am confident, is there. Not to give voice to it is, I believe, fair neither to this country nor to the world.'

Anthony Eden's resignation made him a free man and a greater power in British politics, outside the Government, than even Mr Churchill—in the then state of public sentiment. He might have become a potent danger to the Prime Minister who had just dropped him. Within a few weeks of resignation he had received 6,000 letters from all over the country and the Empire. His action and his reasons for it were applauded and he was asked to form a new Centre Party. To his honour he refused all such alluring suggestions. As Foreign Secretary he had felt bound to take into account the feelings and wishes of opponents more than many of his Conservative supporters liked—especially in the matter of the

Spanish Civil War. But Eden, though he interprets the function of the Foreign Secretary as being to represent the whole of the national will as far as one man can hope to do it, has never for a moment abjured his Conservative creed. He chose, therefore, to devote his new leisure to preparing himself and the country for the ordeal, which he foresaw, of a struggle to the death against the aggressor-dictators. On April 26 of that year (1938) he was invited to address the Royal Society of St George at their annual festival, and he made an eloquent, almost impassioned declaration of his faith in the British race, in its love of freedom and capacity for self-government, in its mission to spread throughout the world the ideas which have already given it so large a place in history. 'For us,' he said, 'freedom is a condition of national life, for the world it is a condition of true international understanding. There can be no lasting peace without freedom.' He told his audience that we were involved in a 'crisis of humanity,' and concluded with the words, 'It is for us, the people of England, to see that this great heritage of liberty and temperance shall not perish from the earth.'

When, next year, the expected clash came, it was inevitable that such a man should again have a place in the ranks of the British Government. The outbreak of war found Eden in camp, serving with the rank of major in his old regiment, the King's Royal Rifle Corps; and then Chamberlain called him to the Dominions Office. The experience there gained was no doubt useful in affording him a yet closer insight into the machinery of imperial collaboration; and he flew to Cairo to greet the Australian troops who were arriving there. Then Mr Churchill became Prime Minister, and moved Eden to the War Office. That appointment was also welcome to him, and also did not last long. The great leader of the nation in those dark days wanted to have still closer to him the man whom he valued as possessing (in Mr Churchill's own words) 'a poise of temper and balanced judgment, a remarkable patience and restraint, dignity in misfortune and simplicity in success.' He, Mr Churchill, also wished for a Foreign Secretary who was at all hours, even the most nocturnal, easily available for consultation. An apartment was built into the second floor of the Foreign Office for the residence of its chief,

within a stone's throw of No. 10. The prospect of being called out of bed at two or three in the morning, after a long day's work, did not appeal to Lord Halifax—who appointed himself to the Washington Embassy when it was vacated by the death of Lord Lothian. Mr Eden, younger and better inured to the irregularity of military hours, took on the job.

He and Churchill formed a happy and well-assorted combination. Mr Churchill, of course, stands supreme as war-leader of the nation during those five years of destiny; but if any attributes are deficient in his many-sided character they are precisely those which Eden supplied—poise of temper, balanced judgment, patience, and restraint, perhaps also pliancy—in any case the qualities which the Prime Minister clearly felt that he most needed to have at hand. Eden has often been considered to be too pliant; but the Prime Minister now welcomed him as a close friend, a congenial companion, and most valued adviser. Where Mr Churchill went, Anthony Eden almost always went too; and even in Parliament the Prime Minister kept him at his side as Leader of the House of Commons. The double burden of the Foreign Office and leadership of the House should surely never be laid on the same shoulders. But Mr Eden, probably for reasons of home politics, liked his House of Commons post, and, when pressed to give up one or the other, seemed inclined to leave the Foreign Office. Mr Churchill, however, told him to take a short rest and to carry on with both.

The efficacy of the Foreign Secretary's share in the Churchill-Eden partnership was particularly apparent on occasions such as the parliamentary debates on the trouble in Greece just a year ago, when the Prime Minister's 'defensive-offensive' statement on British policy made the opposition angrier than before. Only when Eden had explained the reasons why British troops had been used to quell the Communist insurgents was the action of the Government better understood and less resented. Eden has in an exceptional degree that valuable quality of seeing with his critics' eyes while standing firm on his own ground. Another occasion when his diplomatic ability served his country well was when the British navy insisted on having the use of the Azores. Without being

able to take post in the Portuguese islands the British and American admiralities could not undertake effectively to protect the eastern Atlantic waters from U-boats and ensure the safe passage of transports from the United States. The need was regarded as vital; and it is no secret that in London and Washington the project was entertained of securing the required facilities by whatever means might prove to be necessary. The Foreign Secretary insisted that the diplomatic method would suffice. He personally directed the negotiations with the Portuguese Government, which were actually conducted by the British Ambassador in Lisbon, Sir Ronald Campbell, and Mr Roberts of the Foreign Office. The American Government pursued a similar policy and Agreements were soon signed which were entirely satisfactory to Portugal and to the naval chiefs of the two Allies.

In 1941, Eden had said 'In war-time diplomacy is the mere acolyte of strategic needs,' and he acted on that principle throughout his notable partnership with Churchill.* He occasionally went off on missions of his own, as those to Ankara and Moscow. He failed to bring Turkey into the war at a time when her help would have been invaluable in the Ægean and Adriatic; and by the time Turkey was ready to become a belligerent, other plans had been made by the Allied Chiefs. His missions to Moscow, on the other hand, were completely successful.

In 1941, soon after the unprovoked assault of Hitler upon Russia, Eden had given proof of his remarkable talents as an intermediary by bringing together Soviet Russia and Poland. In General Sikorski, Poland had her only leader in this war who has combined a high order of both statesmanship and generalship, and who has been able to approach Moscow (with Eden's help) while still commanding the allegiance of the majority of Poles and still retaining his national independence unimpaired. Sikorski's death in an aeroplane accident was a disaster for Poland and the Allied cause; and Russia, with

* In one of his later speeches in the House of Commons as Foreign Secretary (on Dec. 1, 1944), he amplified this sentiment as follows: 'I would say the aims of our foreign policy are threefold: First, victory, which means the continuance of the unity in the great coalition; second, order behind the lines of our armies; and third, fair and untrammelled election of governments, dynasties, and parliaments alike.'

German pressure relieved, later denounced the Treaty on a flimsy pretext, having never fully implemented all its clauses.

Undismayed by this setback Eden went ahead with his inescapable task of improving Anglo-Russian relations, which had naturally suffered from Stalin's association with Hitler in the early stages of the war. For nearly two years—following more than twenty years of Bolshevism—Russia had been on the German side, and until she was attacked was sending the products of Russian factories into the Reich. When Hitler committed his stupendous blunder of invading White Russia and the Ukraine (June 1941), Churchill accepted Russia as an ally; and Eden negotiated his treaty with Stalin.

The formal acceptance of Russia as a belligerent ally was confirmed by treaty on July 12, 1941; but Eden went much farther than this in May of the following year, when he signed an alliance not only for the war but for twenty years afterwards—the wisdom and value of which have lately been questioned. Soviet Russia is now both 'National' and 'Socialist,' and none will deny that Stalin is an autocrat—autocrat of all the Russians in a more literal sense than the last of the Tsars ever was. Nor has her policy since the close of hostilities been favourable to the British point of view (or to the American point of view) in eastern Europe or the Mediterranean. It can hardly be said to have conformed to the terms of the Alliance, which stipulated that the two signatory Powers should not seek territorial aggrandisement for themselves or interfere in the internal affairs of other States (Article V). Soviet Russia has incorporated the three Baltic States and has fashioned governments to her own liking in the Balkans. And with no other ally did we think it necessary to form an alliance running on into the post-war period.

There are in fact half-a-dozen good arguments which throw doubt on the need or value of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942. But there is one which may at the time of signing have overridden them all; and another which may ultimately indicate a method of nullifying the obvious objections. The overriding need for the Treaty may have been (Mr Eden alone knows) that Russia could not, without it, have been depended upon to remain in

the war to the end. Suspiciousness is a dominant ingredient in the character of the Russians. ('The Russians are all buttoned-up and very suspicious,' said Field-Marshal Alexander the other day.) Many of them certainly feared that Britain was inclined, at one or two critical phases of the war, to 'do a deal' with Hitler. There were also, let it be added, many persons in this country who entertained the same fear about Russia; and to sign a long-term treaty may have seemed to Eden the only way of securing confident cooperation in the dangerous days of 1942-43, as well as (he must have hoped) in the hardly less difficult days that would come with the peace-making. And the clause which may be held to justify Eden's policy is that which lays down (Article IV) that when the international Security Organisation, which was then planned, and which is now assuming legal form, should be recognised by the two Parties as having superseded the Treaty, then the special provisions for action by Russia and Britain against Germany become merged in the general policy of the Security Council. It may be hoped that the whole Treaty will in course of time be merged into the Security Organisation. In principle, British policy should never avow its dependence on good relations with any single country, which will always be tempted to take advantage of that dependence—though the United States of America should be regarded as an exception to the rule.

Mr Eden found time amid the stresses of war to set in motion a scheme of reform which will place the whole Foreign Service on a wider democratic basis and give more importance to the commercial aspects of diplomacy. The need for functional reorganisation was discussed at length in the last issue of the 'Quarterly Review,' and I must conclude this present article. But before closing my review of Mr Eden's past career, let me take a glance at his future—and say a word about the problem of fitness and buoyancy for a Foreign Secretary in the working conditions of to-day. Health is a subject too often quite cavalierly dismissed as secondary—and most cavalierly of anybody by Mr Eden. After the surrender of Germany he was laid low with a duodenal ulcer. It was no doubt due to overstrain, and was generally regarded as the fortune of war. But it was really something more

than that. It was symptomatic. About half of our Foreign Secretaries have broken down during the between-war years, and their successors will continue to suffer the damaging effects of overwork unless a way is found to diminish their day-to-day burden without lessening their over-all responsibility. No scheme of Foreign Office reform will return full value unless it enables the Foreign Secretary to exercise his qualities of knowledge, judgment, and leadership in freshness and freedom of spirit. The first reform to be effected—on which all the others hang—is to end the scandal of exhausted Foreign Secretaries. After the last war four of them broke down in succession. Lord Curzon suffered from acute insomnia, which neither bettered his temper nor improved his judgment. Mr Ramsay MacDonald, rashly combining the post of Foreign Secretary with that of Prime Minister, soon found the doubled work too much for him. Sir Austen Chamberlain followed him, and crashed after three years of service. His doctor had to send him away on a long sea journey; and he never regained his full vigour during his term of office, though he had a late-flowering burst of energy as an elder statesman on the back benches. The fourth to go down was Mr Arthur Henderson. He held on until the end of a brief period of office, but his retarded collapse endangered his life and he was never the same man again. The normal cares of a Foreign Secretary have been multiplied many times during these last two decades. The number of independent countries has grown, and the volume of incoming and outgoing despatches has swollen to almost unmanageable proportions. The Dominion Governments are now very properly continuously consulted. And the Foreign Secretary travels far and wide, doing work which used to be left to ambassadors; moreover the long distance telephone tempts him to continue the exacting business of negotiation even after he had returned to Whitehall. And at home Press and Pressmen demand his attention to a degree undreamed of a quarter of a century ago. The democratic methods into which Mr Eden was born make new and heavy demands on the modern statesman. And wear and tear is the greatest destroyer of efficiency. Democracy must not use its servants up.

The highest posts under the Crown lie before him as

Mr Eden, still in his political prime, though silver-haired from the tenseness of his war-time service, looks ahead into his future—in which, let us hope, no City post looms so near, so large, and so alluring as to block the view. The defeat of the Conservative Party in last year's General Election has given him a new lease of life by relieving him *pro tempore* of official business. He may, perhaps, indulge a vision of himself as Viceroy of India, a post which has already once been his for the asking; more probably his ambition is to become the next Conservative Prime Minister. After the statesmanlike broadcast which he delivered from his sickbed during last summer's Election the comment was freely heard that he devoted as much time to home as to foreign affairs. His combination of incisiveness with moderation was masterly; and he may justifiably aspire to become the Chief Minister under the Crown. Only he can know whether his stamina would warrant acceptance and carry the claims of that still more responsible office. If he feels any uncertainty on this score, let him reflect that Lord Rosebery's fame would have been greater if he had not moved on from the Foreign Office to the premiership and that Lord Castlereagh, who was never Prime Minister, is a more illustrious figure in history than his contemporary, Lord Liverpool, who was Prime Minister for fifteen years.

A. L. KENNEDY.

Art. 2.—THE WAVELL PLAN AND AFTER.

THE Wavell plan was an attempt on the part of the Viceroy to break the so-called political deadlock in India by placing the government of India in Indian hands, subject to the retention of the defence portfolio by the Commander-in-Chief, and to the overriding powers of the Viceroy to be exercised only in a pressing emergency.

The first essential was to placate the Indian Congress. That was less difficult than had been anticipated. The party was in temporary eclipse. Twice empire had been within its grasp; twice from lack of vision and—one may

be permitted to say, from an overestimate of their own powers and of the influence of the Hindu mystic, to whom so many of them pin their faith—the opportunity had been allowed to slip. The revolt—open rebellion as Gandhi called it—in August 1942, had failed; the leaders had been interned; the Congress organisation banned. Too late Gandhi's dupes realised what they had lost. Hence the frustration and bitterness among them, of which we have heard so much of late. Even moderate Hindu politicians strongly criticised the policy of Gandhi and the Congress High Command that had paralysed the movement. Another irritant for ambitious politicians, lost in the wilderness of opposition, was the spectacle of the government of India being successfully carried on by a strong executive Council of which the great majority were distinguished Indian statesmen, though not wearing the Congress label. India, under their auspices, was playing her part in the war, so effectively indeed that even the Indian 'Social Reformer,' a Liberal Hindu paper, said to carry weight in Congress circles, went so far as to remark in its issue of December 22, 1944, that 'since India must be the base of the war in the Pacific a National Government could do no other than what the present was doing.' The loyalty of the Panjab, with its millions of fighting men was unchallenged; unofficially the vast majority of the Muslims were supporting the war effort. The Princes, with their one hundred million people, stood firmly by the side of the King-Emperor. The war was practically won. Would Britain in the hour of victory be ready to put Congress in power? That was the question that was agitating the minds of Hindu politicians when Lord Wavell went to London in the Spring.

High-caste Hinduism has throughout been the driving force in Indian politics. Many non-Congress Hindus felt that the refusal of the Congress to make the next move was weakening the prospects of the early achievement of Indian independence. To counter this, prominent Hindu Liberal politicians, like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr Rajagopalachari, propounded schemes for an interim government, nationalist in composition. They were well aware that his Majesty's Government would not put an undiluted Hindu Government in power. To achieve their end an entente with the Muslim League was essential.

There was some kind of a *rapprochement* based on an offer by the Hindus to share the government equally between the two communities. Gandhi was induced to set his imprimatur on the proposal. Things went so far that the League and Congress members in the Central Legislative Assembly at Delhi combined on several occasions to defeat Government measures.

Apparently Lord Wavell had sensed the change of mood on the part of Congress before he went to London and that its leaders would welcome an offer that would afford them an opportunity of rescuing the party from hopeless stagnation.

Where does the responsibility lie for the failure of the subsequent negotiations? Certainly not with the Viceroy. In point of fact it must be shared by the major parties. Each ascribes the setback to the intransigence of the other. Congress leaders go further and impute a large share of the blame to his Majesty's Government for making it possible for the Muslim League to render futile all attempts at compromise.

It is true that Mr Jinnah's refusal to accept the composition of the Executive Council as proposed by the Viceroy was the immediate cause of the breakdown. But the attitude of the League was brought about by manoeuvres of Congress leaders. Although as a temporary measure they were prepared to concede parity of representation to the Muslims they refused to give up their claim to speak for India as a whole, and to avoid weakening this claim they demanded that one of the Muslim members should belong to Congress. In other words, as the 'Hindustan Times' (edited by Gandhi's son) remarked when commenting on the question, what they claim is that 'Congress has a national following which would entitle them to take exclusive charge of the country. Its leadership has generously agreed to share power with all other parties.' For this reason they insisted on a Muslim Congress member being included in the Muslim quota.

Now admittedly the Muslim element in Congress is infinitesimal and there was weight in the Muslim contention that Congress Muslims might well be represented by a Congress Hindu. Other minorities, Sikhs, Outcasts, Indian Christians to some extent support Congress

policies. Some of them might align themselves on the side of Congress to outvote the Muslims on an issue that Muslims considered vital. The Muslim position in any case was not too safe: it would have been hopeless had the Congress claim been admitted. Congress would have secured what they wanted, a Hindu National Government. They would have manœuvred the Muslims in the Council into a position in which they would have had 'to walk out' and leave the field open to Congress. Should that happen Muslims might be driven in despair to seek a solution by violence.

One may well ask at this point whether, even if the Muslims had accepted its nominations, the Viceroy would have found it possible to handle such a team. It may be expected, for example, that Congress would have insisted on the appointment of their international expert, Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru, as Foreign Minister. Now, for the Pandit, British Imperialism is a loathsome monster little better than Nazism. It was because they wanted to see British Imperialism submerged that Congress did their best to prevent India from helping in the war. What is Nehru's attitude to-day? According to Press reports he is more bitter than ever against Britain. On July 17, in an outburst at a public meeting at Lahore he declared that Congress would not tolerate Dutch, British, French or American imperialism re-establishing itself in Burma, Java, Sumatra, Malaya, Indo-China, the Philippines or other countries overrun by Japan after the Japanese had been driven out. 'Our struggle,' he said, 'is but a part of the struggle of oppressed peoples of the world, and we are not to lose sight of the fact.' Even before the Wavell plan was propounded Congress circles were discussing the desirability of letting Japan down lightly.

Then consider the position of Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the 'Iron Dictator.' He has made it clear that the 'Quit India' resolution stands; in fact he proposes to enlarge its scope and tell Britain to 'Quit Asia.' That, by the way, would make it easier for the industrial magnates who finance Congress to mop up British trade in the Far East. 'Not an Indian soldier, not a quarter of a farthing would Congress allow to Britain if the *status quo* were to be restored in S.E. Asia,' Dr. Azad, the Congress President, told the Viceroy. Would it have been possible with

colleagues holding such views for Lord Wavell to have avoided a clash ?

Another difficulty is the army. Dr Azad complained to the Viceroy that it was not in any way a national army ; 'there was an impenetrable wall between it and the nation. This must change.' An obvious retort was that the Muslim's do not share Azad's views and Muslim soldiers are at least a third of the army. Another point is that criticism hardly lies in the mouth of a Congress leader since Congress has throughout declined to assist in the war preparations ; in fact for most of the war period they actually opposed the war effort. There is, too, the hard fact that most Congress men have no military traditions and very little contact with the sturdy peasant clans of the North, who have provided the majority of the recruits for the Indian army. Had Congress chosen they might have had several thousand young men from Congress and caste Hindu families serving as officers in the new armies. Congress naturally would like to weaken the Muslim element in the army, especially the contingent from the Panjab. Any attempt of the kind would arouse the fiercest opposition from the Muslim League. For them the military predominance of the Panjab is one of the most reliable safeguards against caste Hindu pretensions. Military questions in the proposed Executive Council might easily have led to a breakdown.

It is obvious enough that the transfer of power implied in the Wavell offer must, if accepted, have had serious reactions on the position of the Indian States. Very little has been said on this aspect of the case. Congress wished to make their position clear and Dr Azad stipulated that the Central Government should deal direct with the States in matters affecting trade, finance, taxation, and economic development generally. In other words Congress desired to obtain full control over the economic life of the States. The Princes could hardly be expected to agree to this except within strict limits. One of their grievances against the Paramount Power is that the Indian Government has been allowed to treat them as part of British India in economic matters.

The question of the resumption of popular government in the provinces remains undecided at the time of writing. Congress leaders are disinclined to make a move in this

direction because they feel that without power at the Centre they could not effect much in the country generally. If popular ministries should be set up his Majesty's Government would apparently expect them to be formed on coalition lines. The Muslims might agree to such an arrangement; they are anxious to have new elections. Now that the war with Japan is over the difficulty that Congress ministries might experience in supporting the war effort has disappeared.*

The Wavell plan was not received everywhere with approval. The powerful Hindu Mahasabha repudiated the claim of Congress to speak for the caste Hindus; the principle of parity between Hindus and Muslims on the Viceroy's Council was an abomination to the party; the Muslims must be coerced into accepting Hindu majority rule.

Another criticism comes from Madras. The 'Liberator' (organ of the influential Justice or Non-Brahmin party of Madras) comments that 'the entire scheme of the proposal is motivated by a desire to appease Congress which seems only too willing to renounce its past and clutch at whatever it can in these times of flux. Lord Wavell's attempt to satisfy a defeated party is tantamount to an attempt to by-pass the demand of the masses of our peoples who aspire to real freedom as a means of achieving social and economic equality with peoples in other parts of the world.'

For the Indian Radical Democratic Party the plan has been devised simply in favour of the party of Indian vested interests. The Outcasts demand representation in proportion to their numbers.

Great problems are awaiting settlement in India. The ground has to be prepared for working out the new constitution. Plans for the demobilisation of the army and the resettlement of the peasant soldier brook no delay.

* The British Government have recently decided to renew the Wavell offer. Elections will be held in the Spring both for the Provincial and Central Assemblies. When the results are known, a fresh attempt will be made to form a National Government. A conference will be summoned as early as possible of representatives of the new Assemblies to discuss the question of forming a Constituent Assembly. Assemblies in the provinces in which popular governments are not in power have been dissolved. The ban on Congress organisations has been withdrawn. It may be noted that Congress have practically declared war on the Muslim League.

Awaiting implementation are elaborate schemes of economic development, including the swing over to ordinary production of the hundreds of thousands of workers employed on munitions and war work generally. There is much for statesmen to do here, and it would indeed have been an advantage had the Viceroy been able to induce the two great political parties, Hindu and Muslim, to work together for a solution of the problems involved.

Responsibility for the work to be done by the Central Government in the near future rests, as before, with the Viceroy and his present colleagues. The latter do not yield in ability to leaders of the great political parties; their patriotism is beyond question. There should be no serious difficulties unless Congress decide to work against them, both in the towns and villages. According to a press report Dr Azad has pledged Congress not to resort to civil disobedience during the war, but now that the Japanese war is over he may not think the pledge binding. In any case Gandhi might not consider himself bound by it if his inner voice summoned him to a fresh outbreak against the Indian Government. Faced with such dangers the latter may well think twice before lifting the ban on the Congress organisation.

The problem of India is the problem of poverty. The countryside is overwhelmed with debt, exploited by the Hindu moneylender, grain dealer, and lawyer; two-thirds of the peasantry are under-employed; there is hardly work for them for half the year. Some Indian economists estimate that over fifty million peasants suffer from this disability. Big business, monopolised by high-caste Hindus, would deal with this problem of under-employment mainly by the expansion of industry, especially of heavy industries, shipbuilding, the construction of motor cars, aeroplanes, locomotives, machinery. Something would be done for the countryside, but the emphasis is on industry in such schemes as the Bombay plan, for which Gandhi's big business supporters are mainly responsible. Bombay industrialists hope to capture the overseas trade of Britain in the Middle and Far East. Protective tariffs would secure to them the market for consumption goods in India.

Against this it is unquestionable that the expansion of

Indian industry is indissolubly linked with the prosperity of the countryside. Its most important market is in the villages. An improvement in the economic conditions of the agriculturists should for this reason take the first place in the programme of development. This is apparently the view of the Indian Government. Incidentally it may be noted that Britain has long been the best market for the produce of the Indian farmer ; the loss of that market would be a blight on village life and on industrial expansion generally.

Post-war reconstruction plans of the Indian Government comprise a vast expansion of irrigation, both by canals and electrically driven tube wells. The schemes combine irrigation with the production of electric power to be used both for industry and in agriculture. The ideal is the integration of the two. The area it is hoped to irrigate in the various provinces, the Panjab, Sindh, the United Provinces, Madras and some of the Indian States runs into nearly 12 million acres. The increase in the income of the countryside when such schemes mature would be enormous, from 150% to 200% million a year on a rough estimate. The electric power made available would approximate to half a million kilowatts. Such power on a vast scale is necessary for a great expansion of industry owing to the mal-distribution of the coal resources of the country.

Putting these schemes of the Indian Government into effect will employ thousands of men, skilled and unskilled, for several years. Subsidiary work, e.g. roads, and the production of the iron and steel required, will employ thousands more. Other schemes for the rehabilitation of agriculture, include the afforestation of village waste for building up a fuel supply and the reconditioning of land damaged by erosion, where necessary by the use of heavy machinery, such as bull-dozers. Here again there would be a wide scope for the employment of those out of work. It is estimated that nearly 100 million acres could be made cultivable by this means. The production of 350,000 tons of artificial manure, with the help of electric power, figures in the Government programme.

The problem of demobilisation would be half solved if these big schemes were well in hand by the time peace is finally settled with Japan. They would absorb a large

proportion of the landless peasant soldiers. In point of fact what most of them will want is land. One would imagine that a good deal could be made available, if necessary, by purchase by Government of re-conditioned land, and, when land to be newly irrigated is privately owned, by acquisition of parts of it. As suggested by the late Premier of the Panjab, Indian soldier settlers might be given land in some of the Pacific islands recovered from Japan, e.g. North Borneo and New Guinea; some might take up holdings in British Guiana where there are already some 250,000 Indian colonists.

A prerequisite to the establishment of prosperity in the countryside is the lifting of the incubus of rural debt. At least the mortgaged land of the peasant soldier should be released on reasonable terms. As to the rural debt generally, this runs into nearly 1,300l. million. It might be scaled down by half and repaid with money lent to the peasant at, say, 4 per cent.

In many cases release from debt would soon mean the doubling of the peasant income. There are vast masses of capital available in India as the result of huge war profits; there should be no difficulty in floating a loan for the liquidation of the peasants' debt, unless indeed a deliberate campaign against it were instituted by Hindu capitalists. The rural banker could utilise the funds made available to him to finance some of the industrial schemes envisaged in the Bombay plan.

The Indian Government propose to nationalise, or at least to exercise some form of control over, basic industries, such as steel, public utilities such, for instance, as the production of electric power. Railways are already State-owned. At the moment the steel industry is mainly in the hands of the great firm of Tatas. As regards the production of consumption goods, the profit motive, cheap labour and raw materials, protective tariffs and the hope of capturing most of the overseas trade of Japan should provide adequate stimulus to enterprise. Here it may be noted that Big Business, especially the financiers and industrialists interested in the Bombay plan, are desirous of buying out British business in India, the money to be provided out of the sterling debt of 1,000l. million owed by Britain to India on account of war expenditure. Congress, as already noted, is financed mainly by the

Bombay planners and other Hindu business men. They are, by the way, opposed to the cooperation of British business enterprise in the economic development of India, except on terms that would deny to British experts any share in the control of industry or its profits.

Industrialisation, in the view of the distinguished Indian economist, Dr Thomas, is no remedy for unemployment in India. So far it has, he thinks, only aggravated unemployment in the villages. He quotes some interesting figures. Of the 15 million workers employed in industry 13 million are employed in handicrafts. Power-driven industry has practically robbed them of their market. Before the war the mills, mostly Indian owned, were supplying over 60 per cent. (handlooms 25 per cent.) of the cotton textiles required in the country. The mills were employing 400,000 persons, causing widespread unemployment among the six millions engaged in hand-weaving ; this, too, despite the efforts of Gandhi and his satellites to encourage the production of homespun cloth as a solution of rural poverty. Dr Thomas criticises the forecast of the Bombay planners that it should be possible to raise the proportion of people engaged in industries organised on modern lines from some 2 per cent. to-day to 26 per cent. in fifteen years. This would not, he thinks, be possible, even if, as in Japan, where the proportion is 15.5 per cent. (including building), small-scale methods were adopted. Basic industries are, he thinks, unlikely to require more than 100,000 workers for many years to come. That is a drop in the ocean compared with the 50 million under-employed workers in the villages.

A solution of the economic problem admits of no delay. This does not necessarily involve the indefinite postponement of an attempt to find a solution in the political field. Economics and politics dovetail into each other in India, as elsewhere.

The scene has changed with the recent indication of Congress readiness to form a national government in cooperation with the Muslims. But it would be a mistake to conclude that the attitude of the party towards the British connection had lost its virulence. Congress still stands for independence outside the British Commonwealth. Its apparent reasonableness is explained solely

by the necessity to escape the blighting effect of inertia. There is not the least doubt that its aim is Congress rule throughout India as it was in August three years ago. Already Congress demands that government should be placed in their hands since the Muslim League has refused to join the Council. The Muslim veto should be waived aside. That way lies disaster. Coercion of the Muslims at the present juncture would lead inevitably to civil war.

For twenty-five years Congress have built their hopes of independence on the coming into power of the British Labour Party. That hope has weakened of late. There have been indications that Labour was beginning to realise that Congress did not stand for democracy, that it was in fact dominated by the Hindu capitalist and did not speak for the people of India generally. Congress supporters viewed with alarm and despondency Mr Bevin's comment a short time ago that Indian Home Rule could best be evolved by experience rather than by a written constitution that might not work. That is sound common sense.

The responsibility will lie heavily on British statesmen to ensure that the constitution of a self-governing India shall protect the interests of the masses, especially of the peasantry, by giving them a voice in settling their own destiny. They cannot expect much from the Congress, dominated as it unquestionably is by high-caste Hindu financiers and industrialists, interested rather in the town than in the countryside. Moreover the rural banker and grain dealer, who exploit the peasant, are strong supporters of Congress, and Congress leaders naturally do not wish to alienate them.

A burning question awaiting solution is the relation between landlord and tenant, especially in those parts of India where most of the country is held by big landowners, as in Oudh, Bihar, and Bengal. In thousands of villages there can be no prosperity or contentment till the position of the tenant is improved. The problem is too thorny for Congress. Gandhi would not face it; any attempt by Congress at solving it would, in the view of impartial observers such as H. N. Brailsford, split the party from top to bottom. Nehru regards the question in much the same light. On more than one occasion he has castigated the British Government for treating the Oudh *taluqdars* as

spoilt children, heedless of the growing discontent among their peasantry.

Will the present Indian Government have the nerve to face the problem? It would certainly strengthen their position did they do so if their policy were proclaimed far and wide, especially in the army. At least they might insist on the implementation of the recent report of the Floud Commission on the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Bihar, so far as it affects the peasantry.

A change in the electoral system that would ensure that the peasantry have the right leadership when the constitution of the new India is finally evolved is essential. It is true that voting power lies in the villages, but, where the peasantry is predominantly Hindu, Congress party funds and its elaborate organisation place the rural candidate at a disadvantage compared with the town-bred Congress lawyer. A system of electoral colleges graduated from the village through the Police circle, and administrative sub-division, to the district or county and from the district to the province, would give peasant voters a better chance of sending to the constituent assembly men who would know how to protect their interests.

Modifications in the electoral system could be carried out without a breach of the pledge given in the Cripps offer. In any case there could be no objection to the Indian Government publishing its policy of rural uplift and of giving the peasant soldier a fair deal on the lines suggested. The peasant, though not politically minded, does not lack intelligence, and the peasantry and the peasant soldier, if convinced that the present government was ready to help them, would undoubtedly give it moral support. Here it may be noted that the two million or so of the peasants in the army will have a vote under the existing system on return to their villages. Much has been done in the army to develop the intelligence of the recruits as citizens, and, if fully informed of government policy, they would, if it appealed to them, exert themselves to help in carrying it out. The offer of land overseas would be appreciated; so would the lightening of the debt. Could political India oppose such measures without forfeiting its influence in the villages? An organised party from the countryside would have a steadying effect on Indian politics. There is, of course, no question of

ousting Congress, but, if developments of the kind sketched in this article take shape, Congress might be induced to modify their pretensions and work for an agreed constitution that would give complete assurance to minorities rather than struggle for caste Hindu supremacy, even if such developments should mean the retention, for a period at least, of the British connection, on terms consistent with Indian Home Rule.

W. P. BARTON.

Art. 3.—THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

FRANCE is again a Republic in the real sense of the word, and possesses, once more, a President constitutionally chosen by the 'will of the people' as expressed through its selected representatives. M. Albert Lebrun's somewhat exceptional second period as the occupant of that distinguished office was brusquely interrupted by the major catastrophe of the war, when in June 1940 the German mechanised hordes swept aside the surprisingly ill-equipped French army and Marshal Pétain, with well-intentioned but pitiable initiative and without a vestige of intellectual or moral authority, assumed what he called the 'headship of the State' and, with the benignant toleration of his brother-in-arms, Corporal Hitler, pulled down the old French tricolour of 'Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité' and ran up in its place the new Nazi-disguised Jolly Roger of 'Famille, Travail, et Patrie.'

It is often forgotten that the continuity thus broken was not after all a lengthy one. If, to-day, one suggests a survey embracing the picturesque years from the first to the last President of the French Third Republic, unreflective people are surprised and immediately imagine that one is going to take a startling leap back into the musty past of the French nation. Actually it entails nothing more unlively and unimaginative than a succinct retrospect of less than three-quarters of a century of political and social evolution, or the commonplace span of an average modern man's life!

France's first choice of a Republican President was an act more of convenience than of conviction. The desperate war which had dragged through the hard winter of 1870 had resulted in the collapse of the Second Empire, and beer and champagne mixing Bismarck had kept his word and made his King an Emperor among the mirrors of Versailles. The new Assembly at Bordeaux had proclaimed that strange and fantastic thing *La République sans les républicains*, and had appointed at its head a frosty little pontifical person in spectacles, Adophe Thiers, who has left his name more indelibly imprinted upon French literature as an historian than upon its political destinies as a statesman. He entered public life as a monarchist journalist and gradually climbed to the Premiership on his royalist principles. Under first the 'President-Prince' and, subsequently, the Emperor, he had been a knightly and even kingly courtier, and had succeeded in compelling larger men to regard him as an inevitable 'Pillar of State.' He still gave some colour to the sentiment expressed by the great Napoléon in 1816, that France, whatever her divagations, was essentially a monarchist country. His devotion to his master had been so downright, if not servile, that it had been considered no extraordinary or outrageous thing to call little Thiers from his bed to the Tuileries at 2 a.m. and request him to form a government before sunrise! But the National Assembly of February 1871, in making its selection of an ornamental head, were animated more by the consciousness which has repeated itself in our day: that France had imperious need of a man who would rid the country of the last vestiges of German domination. Under this queer Republic of defeated royalists, it was intended that Thiers's authority should be but ephemeral and it was accordingly circumscribed. He had engendered confidence for the major task to be undertaken because, as all the world knows, he had been the determined critic of Imperial policy for many years and had repeatedly reproached Napoléon since 1866 with the rise of the Prussian menace. So in title he was to be 'Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic' and nothing more at least until the constitutional status of such an office could be definitely formulated. It took just over six months—during which St Cloud had been shelled

into ruins and flames spread through the Tuileries as the *pétroleuses* ran crouching through the drifting smoke'—to make the 'Chief of the Executive Power' the President of the French Republic, and even then Thiers was expected to keep himself perfectly attuned to the deep-seated current of monarchist opinion which, despite the crowning disaster to the royal refugee at Chislehurst, still prevailed. It was unthinkable that the puffed-up little courtier—who once excused the dreariness of his monarch's utterances on the ground that they were an answer to the supplication: 'Give us, O Lord! our daily platitude!'—should do otherwise, and yet one year and nine months after his election (that is to say on May 24, 1873) the National Assembly registered its marked disapproval of his tepid conservatism by 360 votes to 344. The arch-royalist in this strange 'Republic' was not royalist enough for its 'republican' citizens!

Adolphe Thiers had come to have a substantial appreciation of his own talents as a politician and a statesman, particularly among men whom he secretly despised as having no loyalties and no roots. During his short period as Chief of State he had more than once convulsed his friends and confused his foes by a threat of resignation and on each occasion he had been pleadingly besought to remain. A sense of power never stands still; it either progresses or it recedes. The faith in his own indispensability was a legacy of the day when he refused to address the Chamber of Deputies until the permanent tribune had been cut down. He proposed to test that conviction again to suit his stature. He believed he could dare the threat-hazard once more and in the teeth of the affront tendered by a small majority of the National Assembly he indignantly flung his dramatic resignation. But when the bombshell fell into the lap of M. Louis Joseph Buffet, the Conservative leader and President of the Assembly, it failed to explode in the manner anticipated. The diminutive and clever M. Thiers had neglected to watch and to reckon with the increasing strength of the coalition groups of the royalists and Bonapartists, who despite the Emperor's demise had not lost faith in a succession. Hitherto they had been unable to agree upon a figure who would pose upon the exiguous pedestal they had erected and who would obey

the behests of the two principal factions. The wily and long-experienced M. Thiers had held the dictatorial whip. He had even been known to summon their leaders to his bedroom and there sitting up in bed in his nightshirt to deliver them an interminable disquisition upon their duties and demerits. That kind of tyranny had now to cease. Thus, no sooner had the fatal letter of resignation been read aloud to the General Assembly, than a thin, but still dapper old man, the returned refugee General Nicolas Changarnier, rushed excitedly into the tribune and demanded vociferously that the Assembly should, there and then, accept M. Thiers's resignation and proceed to the appointment of his successor. One would have supposed that whirlwind action of this character was likely to provoke the inevitable reaction to unconsidered impetuosity. In this case it did nothing of the kind; if anything it merely aggravated and inflamed it. General Changarnier was a veritable veteran in the historic fights of the Second Republic. His fearlessness and his incorruptibility had become legendary in an age of subserviency and bribes. Had he not audaciously referred to the posturing President of the Republic in 1849 as 'a dejected cockatoo'? Had he not, whilst head of the Paris Command in 1850, thwarted Louis Napoléon's stealthy plan to seduce the army from its parliamentary allegiance? Had he not scornfully rejected the vague promises alluringly held out to him of a Marshal's baton and a golden future? Had not the Bonapartists, in true Titus Oates fashion, plotted against the General's life and even drawn lots to determine who should take it? Had not Louis Napoléon been compelled to dissolve the National Assembly and proclaim martial law in order to rid himself of this intrepid soldier who stood unflinchingly for the Constitution against a pinchbeck Cæsarism? If the hitherto impassive, Sphinx-like Changarnier now showed signs of eagerness and haste, then indeed was danger near. His audacity was contagious. Political passion was ablaze. Casting all considerations recklessly to the winds, the members of France's supreme governing body proceeded to a hasty election. By 390 votes Marshal Marie Edme Patrice Maurice Mac-Mahon, Duke of Magenta, in his sixty-fifth year was proclaimed the second President of the Third Republic. It was a great

compensation for the old soldier who had fought so valiantly at Metz ; who had been so gravely wounded at Sedan ; and perchance it was an assuagement to him as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, which two years previously had struck so furiously against the Paris Commune that Thiers had been left to repress. The hands of the clock stood at ten minutes to midnight on May 24, 1873, when France took that fateful decision.

The Bonapartists and the Conservatives were delighted with the choice which their hardy representatives had made. They found in the brave, indomitable, hard, 'sand-crusted' old warrior a man after their own hearts. They recalled that he had only yielded at Reichshoffen to an enemy numerically four times superior to his own and only after a charge by French cuirassiers almost as memorable, as heroic and as mad, as that led by Lord Cardigan's troops at Balaclava nineteen years previously. As President of the Republic he would have national authority, and, fortified with that authority, he would be their leader in every attack they might make against the republican regime and against the howling, dissatisfied, and insatiable democracy for which it stood. And Mac-Mahon did not fail his disciples ; he outstripped them in zeal to combat the rising forces of liberalism and true republicanism.

The policy he pursued was as perilous as it was audacious. Every wise and experienced observer foresaw and predicted its end. The obscurantist repressions of, and restrictions to, personal and public liberty set up by Duke Albert de Broglie, upon his assumption of the Premiership in May 1873, under the pretexts that they were the unquestioned cures for the 'social peril' represented by radicalism and republicanism, were the fructifying seeds of a new revolution. The harvest ripened slowly, but on the historic sixteenth of May 1877, four years after, the reapers' scythes were wielded hard and desperately. Mac-Mahon exerted his powers, but not his rights, arbitrarily to overthrow the republican government of Jules Simon, to prorogue parliament, and then to insist that the Senate should dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. As all the world knows, the *coup d'état* was a miserable failure. Called in to withstand the incoming ruin, de Broglie found himself impotent. The raging tides of

radicalism and republicanism rose higher and higher. Despite enormous official pressure exercised both justifiably and almost indecently upon it, the country insisted upon sending back a republican majority to the Chamber. In his extremity, Mac-Mahon thought to save his own prestige, and his party from wrathful popular retribution, by forming the so-called 'extra-parliamentary ministry' of General Grimaudet de Rochebouet—an unconstitutional effort as futile as it was frantic. The writing was on the wall: '*Se soumettre ou se démettre*'—submit or resign!

It is interesting as a parenthesis to recall that it was in the midst of this internal political crisis that Gambetta, the bull-necked, heavy-fisted, wild-haired barrister from the Midi (whose voice had first fascinated France on a dark day in November 1868 and which continued to fascinate it for fourteen years), made the defiant speech which led to criminal proceedings against him. The challenging defiance of 1877 seems harmless and mild to-day!

'Do not believe for a moment, my friends, that when these millions of Frenchmen, these peasants, and workers and middle-classes of the free soil of France shall have made their choice, and precisely upon the terms and conditions in which the question has been placed before them; do not believe that when they shall have indicated their preference and made known their will; do not believe that when so many millions of Frenchmen shall have spoken, that there will be anyone, no matter on what rung of the political or administrative ladder he may find himself, who will be able to resist! When France shall have made heard its sovereign voice, believe me indeed, it will be necessary *to submit or to resign!*'

That clarion challenge became a prophecy. 'To submit or resign' was the war-whoop of the elections of Oct. 14, 1877, which ended in the reactionary rout and the sentence upon the unconstitutional President of the Republic.

Immediately after the disastrous and illegal Rochebouet experiment, floundering Mac-Mahon found himself obliged to bow before the first of Gambetta's conditions: that of submission to the ministry created by the lawyer Armand Jules Stanislas Dufaure, in strict accordance with parliamentary rules and the more or less democratic regulations decreed on Dec. 13, 1877. That he

should be found as President of the Republic fostering a republican government was a distressing thorn in MacMahon's side. It irked more and more as the months passed and on Jan. 30, 1879, he had suffered enough and attested the truth of the great tribune's prognostication that the man who should resist the will of the people of France must surely resign.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of a bright wintry day, the two parliamentary assemblies, the Chamber and the Senate, heard simultaneously the reading of Marshal MacMahon's letter of resignation. Prompt united action was taken. Both suspended their meetings. An hour and a half later they held a joint session in the debating hall of the Lower House under the presidency of the new 'Speaker' of the Senate. The voting was by call-over. At 6.50 p.m. the nominations were closed and voting commenced. At 7.30 p.m. the results were proclaimed. Jules Grévy, the lawyer, triumphed with 563 votes against 99 cast in favour of old General Alfred Chanzy, the brilliant victor of Coulmiers; five in favour of Gambetta; one in favour of the Duc d'Aumale and another for General Gaston de Galliffet, who was fated to realise some of his life's political ambitions as Minister of War twenty years later. From that eventful evening the Third Republic began its republican regime. The next day the Paris Bourse reflected the country's mind. Stocks rose quietly. French Rentes or Consols added another franc to their quotation. Tranquillity was reported to reign from Dunkirk to Perpignan; from Cherbourg to Biarritz; from Mezières to Montpellier; from Metz to Marseilles; from La Rochelle to Lake Annecy; from Bordeaux to Nice. A kind of stupor of content after a violent storm-burst of passion lay, like a curtain, over the whole land.

That comparative calm endured for seven long years. M. Jules Grévy added dignity to the office of President by a strict respect of and for constitutional law. That is not saying, of course, that he had not to face plenty of ministerial crises. They are the inescapable symptom of political vitality in France. Successively he surmounted the tempests roused by Gambetta and his 'opportunism'; by Ferry the colonist and educational reformer, who afterwards laboured under unmerited disgrace for so long; by Goblet the keen diplomat; by the faintly mysterious

financier Rouvier ; and above all, by Gambetta's erstwhile disciple, the versatile Charles de Freycinet who enjoyed the reputation of being able to charm a serpent by the dulcet accents of his insinuating tongue. Jules Grévy was a little greedy, however, of Presidential prestige. As his 'septennat' drew to its close, he conceived the ambitious idea of getting the term renewed. Floquet, who had earned notoriety in his time by wounding the egregious General Boulanger in a duel ; Brisson a radical-socialist leader of standing ; and de Freycinet who had rendered yeoman service at the head of the Ministries of War, Foreign Affairs, and the Premiership, all of whom had reached an age when the prosperity of the Presidency becomes an agreeable substitute for party politics, were each expecting nomination for the succession. When they heard of Grévy's desire they unselfishly agreed to withdraw their candidatures. Thus the election by the Assembly General on Dec. 28, 1885, was a mere formality, but a formality nevertheless which had to be observed. Grévy was re-elected by 457 votes (106 less than at his first essay) whilst Brisson received 78 suffrages and another 45 were distributed among the 'outsiders.'

Two years later Paris, and indeed the whole of France, was reeling under the scandal provoked by the disclosure of the 'Sale of decorations and honours' in which Grévy's son-in-law Wilson was alleged to be the chief offender. In popular imagination the fount of Presidential incorruptibility and impeccability had been besoiled. Despite vociferous denials and the most strenuous efforts to retain his seat at the Elysée, Grévy had lost the confidence of the country and on Dec. 2, 1887, he bowed his head before the storm and retired. 'There are never two without three' says the French proverb and Grévy had supplied the factual data for its realisation. Three Presidents of the Third Republic had ended their careers by resignation.

But who was to succeed Grévy ? This was by no means a question so easy to resolve as it appeared. Candidates of sorts were not lacking it is true, but there was a quite definite want of men upon whom the predominant party could agree. The Republican majority at that time was divided into two factions : opportunists and radicals, who were bitterly opposed to each other. The nominee of the

one was anathema to the other. Thus Brisson, Freycinet, Floquet, and Jules Ferry were trotted out again. But the last-named, who had pre-eminently the required qualifications, was found to be impossible because public feeling ran so high against him ; indeed in Paris his unpopularity was both violent and immense. The mere announcement of his candidature evoked indignant demonstrations in the streets ; public meetings of protest were held on the Boulevards and the Place de la Concorde. At the Hotel de Ville, M. Abel Hovelacque, ' the Paris Lord Mayor,' went so far as publicly to avow that if Ferry were elected he would immediately proclaim the Commune of Paris !

The astute Clemenceau realising that Ferry's candidature constituted a real public danger jumped into the breach and suggested the name of a comparatively unknown engineer, one Sadi Carnot, whose chief qualification for the post appeared not to be that his father had been an obscure and harmless politician, but that one of his forebears had occupied a seat in the famous Convention of 1792 (and presided over it two years later) which condemned Louis XVI to death ; proclaimed the First Republic ; re-invigorated French patriotism and gave to France all the cultural and scientific institutions of which she is still justly proud.

Feeling still ran very high between the partisans and at the first ballot Sadi Carnot received 303 votes ; Jules Ferry 212 ; General Saussier (the conservative candidate) 148 ; and Freycinet 76. Such a distribution clearly called for a closing of the democratic and republican ranks, and on the second ballot the result of that co-ordination was shown by Sadi Carnot being elected with 606 votes against 188 cast in favour of the military standard-bearer of the Right parties.

The comparative quietude which persisted during the period of Sadi Carnot's occupancy of the Presidential chair was broken almost at its close by the anarchist explosions created by Ravachol, Auguste Vaillant, and Emile Henry. Under the pretext that it was merely a recrudescence of the old ideal of social justice dispensed by a social revolution instead of a social republic, which Cavaignac had blown to pieces against the barricades in the Paris streets in 1848, the anarchists had now begun a new campaign of unpitying murder. Vaillant, it will be recalled, made an

attempt against the Chamber of Deputies as an act of defiance against parliamentary government. Notwithstanding much political pressure, Sadi Carnot refused to commute the sentence passed upon the criminal and a new plot was thereupon hatched for the President's 'removal' in the approved anarchist fashion. On his visit to Lyons on June 24, it was carried into effect by the Italian miscreant Caserio who stabbed him to death. Thus a presidential career of careful, constitutional correctitude was brought to a termination five months before its natural term of expiry, and Sadi Carnot was laid to rest in the Pantheon side by side with his illustrious ancestor of the Convention, who in his day had played so fine a part in defeating the European coalition against a free and liberated France.

The curious vagaries which can beset even a well-regulated institution like a National Assembly were evidenced when Jean Pierre Casimir-Périer was elected to succeed Sadi Carnot, Clemenceau's nominee who had acquired during his term of office a reputation for uninspired industry and prosaic soundness. Carnot was in French eyes *un fils de la petite bourgeoisie* and as a plodding product of the middle-class, he had served the people well. The new man, politically quite as obscure as his predecessor, was nevertheless a conspicuous figure in the high walks of finance; a fitting representative therefore of the high Orleanist banking fraternity. His personal fortune was popularly—and not without foundation as subsequent events disclosed—supposed to be in the neighbourhood of forty millions, derived from the rich coal mines of Anzin, near Valenciennes; which had been continuously worked since the beginning of the eighteenth century and which modern readers may recall were overrun and partially destroyed by the Germans during the 1914 to 1918 war.

As became his class and culture, Casimir-Périer announced that were he elected to the Presidential chair he would strive mightily against both radicalism and socialism. He kept his word. From the moment that he took up his residence at the Elysée he initiated an implacable struggle: a bitter contest between the President of the Republic and its democratic citizens! M. Millerand in an outspoken article upon the President and his policy

declared him to be 'The Enemy!' Popular demonstrations against Casimir-Périer and his presidential policy were held in all parts of France. Proud, arrogant, entertaining the illusion that money was master and that wealth could command, he drew upon his financial resources without stint in order to accomplish his purpose. But the fight was all the same an unequal one. The people's burning zeal was more potent than gold. Sorrowfully he had to admit that the flood of democratic opinion was too strong for him and after six and a half months of futile gaspings he threw himself outside the raging torrent's reach. As a solatium to his affronted pride he delivered himself of a whining valedictory in the approved manner of chagrined dictators :

'Public opinion has been again led astray. For six months a bitter campaign of slander and insult has been pursued against the Army, the Magistracy, Parliament and the Chief of State and that liberty to bellow and spread social hatreds continues to be called "liberty of thought."' (Jan. 16, 1895.)

With Thiers, Mac-Mahon, and Jules Grévy, Casimir-Périer made the fourth of French Presidents who had vacated their office by resignation.

Immediate steps were taken to appoint his successor. On January 17, the National Assembly elected Felix Faure on a second ballot with 430 votes against 361 cast in favour of Henri Brisson who had been several times Prime Minister and once at least 'Speaker' of the Chamber of Deputies. Three things of importance marked Felix Faure's presidency: the extension of France's colonial dominion by the addition of Madagascar in 1895; the officially affirmed Franco-Russian alliance concluded at Cronstadt in 1897, and the public scandal which raged around his sudden and dramatic end in 1899. He finished his career neither by resigning nor by being murdered, but as the centre-piece of a mysterious and sordid tragedy, whose unsavoury details, of course, set all tongues wagging. At the moment when the brain-storm, which finally carried him off, began he was not alone as was supposed in his study. This bourgeois, who willingly played the part of a sovereign, had a young and pretty married woman as his very close friend and confidant. He had first noticed her eighteen months previously in the

course of the Alpine manœuvres when he had passed through the coal-mining district of Maurienne in Savoy. From that time she had become a constant visitor to the Elysée and particularly to the Presidential private apartments. The wife of a painter without any great distinction, the same lady, after the mysterious deaths of her mother and her husband, some years later underwent the terrible ordeal of a sensational trial at the Seine Assizes. The strange fate of Felix Faure intrigued a romantic people like the French. Some of their best writers likened it to that of François de Harlay de Champvallon, the seventeenth-century archbishop of Paris, whose story Saint Simon relates at great length in his 'Memoirs.' Others found a more striking similarity in the end of the Regent Philippe of Orleans, with which Buvat has made the world familiar in his 'Journal.'

Like Hitler in our day, Edmond Drumont, the French journalist and politician, saw the hand of the Jew in every dark deed and event. Accordingly he leaped into the public eye with a remarkable 'inside' and 'private' story of how Felix Faure had actually met his death. He denounced the 'Delilah' whom he roundly accused of being in the pay of the Hebrews! 'The gracious hand which extended to Faure, no one knows what delectation,' he wrote, 'merely repeated the atrocious gesture of Caserio, in raising his dagger concealed in a bouquet of flowers! Coincidence has sometimes the look of a crime!' This, of course, was only the frothing mania of a perfervid anti-semitism. Faure's death was due neither to a crime, nor to the Jews, nor to 'Delilah,' nor to Caserio the anarchist, but simply to a cerebral hæmorrhage provoked by habits, which at sixty, are dangerous in the case of a man suffering with arteriosclerosis. On the following day, Clemenceau concluded his obituary notice of Felix Faure in 'L'Aurore' with the biting lapidary phrase: 'This death will not leave us with a *man* less in France!'

The President of the Senate, Emile Loubet, who succeeded Faure at the Elysée—having been elected on Feb. 18, 1899, on a first ballot with 489 votes as against 279 cast in favour of his competitor, Meline—fulfilled the course of his mandate. The comedy of French politics proceeded on its way, sometimes calmly, sometimes

briskly. There were a good many colourful foreign 'visits' and visitors and Loubet taking the air of Paris and elsewhere amid cheering crowds discharged the duties of his office conscientiously with an unimaginative and dreary decorum.

He was followed by still another President of the Senate, Armand Fallières, a man after the average French citizen's own heart. The offspring of plebeian peasant parents, born amid the vines, he rose from the lowliest to the highest position that his country could offer him. He would have been beloved by our own ineffable Samuel Smiles. People outside France entertained at one time the erroneous notion that Fallières was a person merely of homely and mediocre talents—a misconception, it is only fair to add, that the distressing avarice and niggling economics of his peasant wife while at the Elysée did nothing to dissipate. But as a matter of fact by hard and applied study he had acquired knowledge and learning and a shrewd and sound judgment which made him not at all unfit culturally to mix fearlessly with courtiers, savants, and kings. Our own King Edward VII was especially attracted by this dear old Gascon, who could entertain him and comport himself with that exquisite courtesy and distinction which few could emulate.

As might be expected, Fallières was a staunch democrat and republican. His fidelity to his principles had been rewarded by his election several times as a Cabinet Minister, once as Prime Minister, and subsequently as President of the Senate. When at the end of his faithful, if not brilliant, seven years at the Elysée he laid down with dignity and discretion the insignia of his office he made an unflinching resolve. Like the son of the soil that he had ever been, he would return to it and his vines. He left Paris during the summer of 1913 and never saw it again. For the remaining seventeen or eighteen years of his long life—he was ninety when he died at Mézin, his birthplace, in 1931—his chief occupation and pleasure was to fraternise with his fellow vineyard proprietors and the vineyard workmen who idolised him for his good nature, his simplicity, and yet his astonishingly wise judgment. He, on his part, loved their alacrity, their verve, their robust common sense. Thus he lived with the highest

satisfaction, the strenuous existence which in the last analysis is the peasant's dream. His reign at the Elysée was marked by simplicity in all things. For example, no matter how distinguished the guests at his table, he insisted that there should always be served with the great and grand crus, the simple, sound, regional wines from his own vineyard in the Lot-et-Garonne. In a phrase he invested his regime with an atmosphere of rural gentility.

His competitor, Paul Doumer, at the election of Jan. 17, 1906, did not, contrary to all expectations, succeed Fallières. When his seven years of office expired the choice of the Assembly fell upon little Raymond Poincaré, with his amazingly effeminate voice and his astonishingly virile brain. On the first vote, the result was : Poincaré (conservative) 429 ; Pams (radical-socialist) 327 ; Edward Vaillant (socialist) 63 ; others 44. The second round gave Poincaré 483 ; Pams 269 ; Vaillant 69, and thus the alert little Lorraine lawyer walked into the Elysée in 1913 and served seven strenuous years there, with unquestioned ability and success.

There was much heartburning as to his successor. By every law of gratitude and patriotism, Georges Clemenceau should have been offered the Presidency as a free gift upon a golden platter. But by his satires, his caustic comments, his biting and acid quips at men's foibles, by his brusque manners to all alike, the Tiger had alienated even so-called friends. Aristide Briand, who exercised a very considerable influence upon democratic secular opinion declared himself opposed to Clemenceau's candidature. The Church party, and the Catholics generally, could not forgive him his boasted agnosticism and his unrelenting anti-clericalism. So the Tiger was thrown into the lonely captivity of his cage whilst Paul Deschanel in 1920 extend the gates of the Elysée in his place. In so doing, the smaller man of the two had realised the apex of his political career and his life's ambition. For this he had toiled unremittingly, adding cultural and refining poetic touches to his parliamentary speeches ; for this he had evidenced an unsurpassed graciousness to everyone whilst he was ' Speaker ' of the Lower House. Alas ! it was but a short-lived triumph ! The mind of poor Deschanel became unhinged which caused him to indulge in dangerous eccentricities, such as

climbing the trees in the Elysée gardens and opening the doors of railway trains when in motion and jumping out on to the line! When found wandering in his pyjamas between the rails in the early dawn, a peasant woman affirmed: 'I knew he was a gentleman because he had clean feet!' His secretary had literally to guide his hand whilst others of his entourage held him physically in his chair, to induce him to sign the resignation which his mental condition rendered urgent and obligatory, in Sept. 1920.

M. Alexandre Millerand, who had succeeded Clemenceau, 'the Father of Victory,' as Prime Minister, now offered himself for the vacant Presidency of the Republic. Critics have labelled Millerand a weak man, whereas the real truth is that he was a dogged and stubborn one. Instead of shedding, or at least casting off for the period of his presidency, the cloak of strong partisanship in which he had for so long wrapped himself, he persisted in perpetually adorning himself (figuratively, of course) in the uniform of a militant general of the National Bloc, and actually so far overlooked his obligations of impartiality as some few months before the General Election to deliver, on Oct. 14, 1923, a slashing attack upon the Left parties. It was only natural that when on May 11, 1924, the electorate sent a radical and republican majority as its representatives to the Bourbon Palace, these should in their turn firmly demand the dismissal of this partisan from the chief magistracy. They went farther: they sought as a parliamentary precedent the case where the republican majority in the year 1877 refused all regulations with the Rochebouet Ministry because by its origin it stood for the negation of all parliamentary rights. They claimed that Millerand was no longer qualified to nominate a Prime Minister or a minister to form a government and that for this reason they would refuse to negotiate with, or recognise in any way, any cabinet which might be constituted under his orders. The challenge was direct; the issue clear. The constitution was being upheld by parliament against the Presidency. At the outset M. Millerand tried the bluff of offering resistance. Then finding himself unable to discover a Prime Minister who would be acceptable to the new parliamentary majority, he determined to embark upon the bold and hazardous course of forming a Ministry of his own selection; that

is to say, of inducing M. François Marsal to call himself the head of a cabinet consisting only of personal friends, for just sufficiently long to submit a Presidential Message to the Chamber and the Senate. The device was quite futile. M. Millerand in his message declared :

'In prescribing that the President of the Republic is only responsible in the case of high treason, the Constitution has wished, in the national interests of stability and continuity, that the presidential power should be placed for seven years beyond the reach of all political fluctuations.'

The answer to that contention was short, sharp, and sweet. The Senate by 154 to 144 and the Chamber of Deputies by 329 votes to 214, indicated that they refused to enter into any communication with the Ministry constituted by M. Alexandre Millerand. That deadlock existed through the warm night of June 10, 1924. On the morrow, a sadder and wiser Millerand offered his resignation to the people's representatives in both houses of parliament.

Two days later, that is to say on June 13, M. Gaston Doumergue, then President of the Senate, posing as a radical-socialist with distinctly individualistic leanings, was elected President of the Republic by 515 votes against 309 cast in favour of that strange, whimsical genius, mathematical scholar and scientist, Paul Painlevé (said to be the only man in France who understood Einstein's theory of Relativity better than its author himself !) who was then President of the Chamber ; and a miserable 21 votes thrown as a bone to the picturesque Camelinat, an ancient 'communard.' It was an uneventful presidency ; one of continuous good-humour, as someone said, 'because of Gaston Doumergue's constant smile which only rubbed off the seraphic face in 1934.'

Gaston Doumergue, having been in his own words 'the pampered prisoner of the gilded Elysée' ; having said his 'piece' and having repeated it clearly and good-naturedly a multitude of times ; having engraved upon the popular mind the fact that his big, flat-footed police attendants were his 'guardian angels' ; and having popularised himself with all the wild game at Rambouillet, because he never handled a gun, at last took his leave and went off belatedly to court a lady whom he had loved all his life. Thus romance came to him late in the autumn of his days.

Paul Doumer, who had been waiting this chance for twenty years—for it was in 1906 that he had challenged Fallières right to the Presidency—now seized it with both hands. But the task was no easy one since he was faced with one of the most formidable opponents in France, to wit, Aristide Briand, eleven times Prime Minister, France's almost permanent Foreign Minister and her most eloquent ambassador in all lands. Paul Doumer entered the lists with grave misgivings. I shall never forget the excitement at Versailles that evening of May 13, 1931, when the result of the scrutiny was handed to the representatives of the foreign Press in the gallery: Paul Doumer, 442; Aristide Briand, 401. The tortoise had outstripped the hare.

Doumer was too dour a man in appearance to seem likely to incite anyone's active hostility. Yet a year afterwards, on a sunny May afternoon, all among the books at a literary sale, he fell a victim to a fanatic's zeal. A Russian named Gorguloff, half-mystic, half-madman, declared that he had struck the President down to 'revenge his country' (*sic*) and to push France into war with Soviet Russia!

At Doumer's tragic demise the mantle of power fell upon M. Albert Lebrun, and the grace and dignity with which he wore it even in dark and perilous days is still too recent in all minds to need any recapitulation here. Our survey has shown that since the foundation of the Third Republic, up to the moment when Hitler's hordes disrupted the French regime, there had been fourteen Presidents, five of whom, Loubet, Fallières, Poincaré, Doumergue, and Lebrun fulfilled their functions for the prescribed seven years. Six were called upon for one reason or another to resign. They were Thiers, Mac-Mahon, Grévy, Casimir-Périer, Deschanel, and Millerand. Two others, Sadi Carnot and Paul Doumer, were assassinated, while Felix Faure died a natural, if accelerated, death.

W. WALTER CROTCH.

Art. 4.—AFTERMATH IN ITALY.

WHEN last May the Germans signed the capitulation in Caserta Palace near Naples, peace came to Italy just as much as to the Allied armies which had done battle there. Indeed for Italy it was a peace with many meanings. First, it was a physical cessation of the warring of foreign armies on Italian soil. Secondly, it was the end of a virtual civil war in which, during the complete separation of Northern from Southern Italy for nearly two years, Italians had sometimes fought one another with great bitterness. Thirdly, it was the final achievement in practice of that armistice with the Allies which had actually been signed away back in 1943. And lastly, it was the termination of a most unsatisfactory state called 'co-belligerency,' directed against former allies, the Germans.

It is small wonder, then, that in view of all she has been through Italy to-day is not very sure how she stands. Italians have seen much of their country ravaged, their political and economic structure turned upside down, and the outlook expected of them go from passive-obedience-without-understanding—*Credere, Obbedire, Combattere*—to that of a full-blown democracy, with all the implied responsibilities attaching to every individual in it.

As to the extent of the physical damage, the towns of Italy vary greatly in survival. Rome is intact; the Pope is said to have bargained protection of 30,000 German wounded for that. Milan—for all the Italian outcry—is no more damaged than London; the partisans saved the power stations and other important buildings from explosive charges prepared by the Germans. Turin is all right. The West coast ports are bad—Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples. The Po valley towns are mostly safe, though bridges and railway yards are always in ruins—Bologna, Verona, Padua, Vicenza. The worst I have seen is Piacenza, the best, Bergamo, Brescia, Novara, Pavia. Venice is unharmed. The other cities of history are still there, except for parts of Pisa and the river front of Florence; Siena, Perugia, and Assisi escaped the war. Little towns in certain areas fared badly—Benevento, Rimini, Viterbo, Foggia. Places taken early—Taranto, Bari, Salerno—have already started new lives.

It is in transport, fuel, and food that Italy is worst off. The cereal harvest in 1945 was only half the normal. But to gain some picture of the real difficulties facing national recovery it is best, and indeed essential, to have some idea of the existing transport situation. In roads the position is not too bad. Temporary bridges have been erected on all main routes, but there is a deficiency of practically all types of load-carrying vehicles, which were taken by the Germans. But in railways it is a different story. Tracks and rolling stock have both been very widely destroyed. Indeed, without actually seeing the railways in Southern Italy it is probably almost impossible to realise how completely they were put out of action, by the passage of the battlefield, by bombing, and by deliberate German wrecking.

The last-named consisted of bridge demolition and the systematic hooking up of the track and sleepers, including in some cases the removal of the actual rails to Russia. South of the Ravenna, Bologna, Spezia level, as far as Naples on the West coast and Foggia on the East, the railway network as it existed in peacetime has been temporarily wiped out. Where the system had been electrified, destruction of power stations and thousands of pylons along the route has rendered even a temporary return to electrification impossible for the time being. Any immediate reconstruction has to rely on steam. An exception is the mountain section between Iesi and Foligno through the Fabriano gap. This was fortunately not excessively damaged—it has been included in the first North-South route to be reopened—since the gradients make even temporary steam prohibitive.

Progress in railway reconstruction has so far been confined to main routes. It has consisted of getting a single temporary track in minimum working order, fit only for trains which slow to a walking pace at most bridges. This has been done by collecting rails from side lines and cannibalising what is available from both tracks of double track routes, and by constructing emergency bridges rather like Bailey road bridges. It is at best a makeshift arrangement. But after enormous labour lines have now been running for some months between Bari, Naples, Rome, Rimini, Bologna, Verona, and Milan. Single-track working in such conditions defies, however, either

speed or density of traffic above the lowest. And it will be ten years at least before normal working can be restored generally. On the original rebuilt line, that between Naples and Rome by Cassino—in the first train over which the American Secretary of State for War was a passenger in the late summer of 1944—there are now forty trains a day, twenty in each direction. The vast majority of these have so far been purely military, thus not benefiting Italian recovery at all. But it is worth noting that out of the forty, eight are now Italian civilian, four being passenger and four freight. The average length of time for the journey is ten hours, about five times what it was before the war. This compares with thirty-six hours for Rome to Milan, a journey which in peacetime took four and a half hours! The prospect of laying double track on even these routes is not bright. At best it will be done by the end of 1946. The policy, however, is to make the second track a permanent one, with proper bridges and good rails that will be fit for fast trains.

The material for all this railway building is a problem in itself. At present American and British locomotives do most of the hauling, and there is an acute shortage of rolling stock. The Germans removed or destroyed a very great deal, and while a quantity of wagons have now been brought back from the Reich—the DR of Deutsches Reichsbahn being painted out in favour of the FS of Ferrovie dello Stato—few modern Italian steam locomotives existed even in peacetime since most of the main lines had been electrified.

It is essential for Italian factories to restart maximum production of equipment needed in railway construction as soon as possible. But the position provides a good example of the kind of difficulty Italy and the Allies have been up against in other respects as well. Officially, the Allies are doing all they can, subject to their own needs, to assist Italy's reconstruction. But in practice detailed interpretation of the policy is not easy. The fighting may be over, but so long as there are Allied armed forces in Italy many military requirements are not a great deal less than in wartime.

For instance, there is in the Southern part of the country a certain factory of considerable size connected

with a vital side of railway manufacture. It was severely damaged by bombing two years ago, but is not by any means quite beyond at least partial repair. Yet almost nothing has been done, because ever since the Allies arrived they have found it necessary to occupy most of the grounds of the factory as vehicle and tank parks, thus making it impossible for the Italian owners to get to work. When this is put forward on behalf of the owners by the Allied Commission, military authority is inevitably guided by the recommendation of its senior officer on the spot. He has an almost entirely military, as opposed to political or economic, decision to make and therefore says—No. And the indirect long-term effects on Italy's economy are incalculable.

Italy's economy indeed promises to present a permanently different appearance, when it does get back into its stride, from that which it possessed before. Complete cessation of work over a long period is having a notable effect on many leading firms. Where, even under the Fascists, they maintained themselves independent of the government, they are now coming under state direction if not ownership. In order to reconstruct and tide themselves over the period of non-production they have to borrow money. The only possible large-scale lender at present is the central government. Naturally in return it makes its own terms, normally a mortgage on the land, and a part in the direction, perhaps even management of the company. As to whether this is a good thing or not theorists may have very definite opinions, but in practice it depends on how the Italian government intends to wield its new power, and for that it is too early yet to say. The important fact is that the power exists, and that the Italian state is, almost unintentionally, gaining a closer grip on the national economy than it ever had before. If in the immediate future the Socialist party predominates in the government the stage is well set for it to exercise its ideas.

That Italy is dangerously unready for satisfactory democracy is horribly obvious. It is true that many partisans did their work because they meant to be free and because they held ideas about a country in which they would be. But the overthrow of Mussolini was, after all, a palace revolution, and most of Italy has had no part in

its own liberation, either from the dictator or from the enemy. Only a small proportion of the country, not more than twenty per cent., is yet politically awake. People are wrapped up in their personal problems or afraid to declare themselves. Those who do declare themselves seem afraid not to be Left wing.

In fact a fine little comedy took place at the first meeting of the Consultative Assembly last September. Unlike the House of Commons, most debating chambers in other countries have their benches arranged in a semi-circle; this in theory is designed to allow of shades of political opinion, the extremes, Left and Right, flanking Moderates in the centre. When the representatives of the six Italian parties met in the Assembly for the first time, none was willing to sit on the Right and so run the risk of presenting itself to the electorate as a Right Wing Party. The Liberals, whom the others regard as the Conservatives, consider themselves a Centre party, and made a dash for the centre of the semi-circle. But the Christian Democrats, whom most people consider a Centre party, got there first and would not budge. The Communists, a large body, sat firmly in the extreme Left, with the Action Party—Parri's—next to them. The result was that by the time the disappointed Liberals had managed to squeeze in Left of the Centre as well, a great many Socialists and Labour Democrats who arrived a little late had to overflow into the benches of the Right! In such frail things may the political temper of Italy be seen to be awakening!

At that same meeting, however, Parri went on to inaugurate a new era with a speech of which any Italian might feel proud. It was reasoned, frank, and clear, and took the Assembly into its confidence. Nothing could have been a greater contrast to the tirades of Mussolini. Parri indeed has proved himself a man who, thinking and acting dispassionately, is capable of arousing the real respect of his countrymen. Whether his abilities are shared by them is another question. And there have been several unfortunate incidents which would indicate that they are not.

The lynching of Carreta, Fascist ex-governor of the prison in Rome, over a year ago, was an act which Roosevelt and Churchill at Quebec condemned severely.

Carreta, if you remember, was done to death in a manner as hot-headedly cold-blooded as any in Italy's long story of strife and murder. As he was being taken to the Palace of Justice for trial, a small crowd outside the building recognised him and seized him from his gaolers. They then threw him into the Tiber and a number of young men put out in boats to prevent him regaining the shore. While the crowd up above watched in dead silence, raising no objection nor yet joining in the excitement with either shouts or encouragement, these men beat at Carreta with their oars, hitting him on the head and on his hands till he became exhausted, and wounded, sank below the water and was drowned. All this took a full quarter of an hour. Then they fished out the corpse, strung it up by its feet from a balcony of the Palace of Justice, and had begun hurling stones at it when a truckload of American police arrived and the incident was closed. Italian police themselves had been present throughout the episode.

Again, it is notable that Mussolini himself met death in a way that came to no member of the Nazi regime. His fate was otherwise than to live to stand in the dock at Nuremberg. I have talked at Dongo to a member of the partisan band who was present there when the Duce, hiding under a German army greatcoat inside an armoured car, was pulled from a retreating German column. Orders had been issued by partisan headquarters that if he was caught by any local band he was to be brought in to Milan. At this time partisans were stopping nearly all German columns even if they were not strong enough to make proper attacks on them. In such cases parleying would normally ensue and the Germans would be allowed to pass. This is what happened with the column in which Mussolini was travelling. The entrance to the village of Dongo is a good place to halt traffic using that road; on your left there is a perpendicular cliff, and on your right the black waters of Lake Como.

No one knew that Mussolini was with these Germans and he was only actually arrested through the betrayal of the German soldier driving his armoured car. This man whispered to a member of the Italian band standing near his vehicle—'Duce, Duce'—and jerked his head back toward the inside of the car. The dictator was

dragged out, 'yellow with fear and fury,' and taken into the little stone municipio building at Dongò along with his mistress. There he was held for some hours, and you can imagine the scene of bitterness. With feelings mounting on all sides, he was conducted back down the lakeside to Menaggio, till in a cottage on the outskirts of the town tempers reached breaking point, and the guns came out and Mussolini was shot out of hand. Later, as is well known, his body was taken to Milan and displayed to the public hanging upside down from a metal rafter of a garage in the Piazza Loreto.

The damage done to Italy by the war is as much moral as material. Some peoples suffer more in war from a disintegration of human values than others, and Italy has fared badly. It is now normal to steal and cheat and lie to keep yourself alive in Italy, and once a man has started doing these things it is far harder for him to stop than it would have been never to depart from the straight and narrow path. Few in Italy trust anyone else, for the good reason that they understand one another too well. Consequently in spite of the terrific difference in fortune between those who have lost everything they possessed and those who have not, it has been extremely hard to organise any sort of voluntary or even sometimes official relief for the millions of destitute.

The day after Bologna fell, we were camped round a small farmhouse about ten miles North of the city. Shortly after breakfast when I returned to my tent, I found half a dozen local people digging among the bushes behind the house. Already they had a hole three feet deep. It had been raining during the night and as I arrived they were prising a great glass jar from the moist earth. Instead of wine it contained a white substance.

'Farina,' they said, 'Flour for those who are hungry. These flasks were hidden here on the orders of the Committee of Liberation. And now that the Germans are gone we have come to dig them up.'

Italians sometimes went to great lengths to hide their possessions from the Germans, but unfortunately not always successfully. Owing to the rugged type of country in the mountains, oxen often represent the only means of pulling ploughs. The Germans accordingly shot as many as they could during their retreat, and in breeding

districts like the Campagna round Rome the dearth of beasts is going to make a grave difference for many years to come. In Bologna, where people took refuge last winter from the surrounding countryside which remained a virtual battlefield for many weeks on end, cows were taken up to the third floors of houses in order to hide them from the enemy. Afterwards, I understand, it was difficult to induce some of them to come down again.

That these problems are European problems and therefore concern us closely as Europeans is something which at heart we all know. For our own sakes we can no longer afford to think for example—in terms of Neville Chamberlain's unfortunate statement—of Czechoslovakia as a 'far away country of which we know nothing.' That attitude of mind must pass away for ever. Italy is no farther off than Czechoslovakia, and we can none of us ignore the fact. Did not Mussolini once point the way for Hitler?

One dawn, three years ago, I stood among the winter flowers growing thinly in the loose sand of Cyrenaica. We were looking down on Agedabia, its tuft of little buildings still grey in the cold light before the sun was up. And we were watching a flight of British aircraft heading out over the desert for Tripoli. Nearby stood one of the few Italian civilians left behind by the enemy. He had worked the salt establishment up the coast until the Germans came, and we had followed them, raising the dust of the desert in their tracks. He was an untidy little man, and just then he looked cold and hungry and tired.

'Well,' he said, as we stood there, 'it has been a hard life. But we have made a success of it. And now I suppose you will drive us away and all that work has gone for nothing. I came here twenty years ago and it is late in life to make a new start.'

Those Italians who went to Abyssinia did not have so long to settle in, but they resent our driving them out no less. Italians consider that it was a pity and unnecessary and that one day we shall regret it. Were they not making a far more efficient country out of it than the Ethiopians ever would? I do not think they ever stop to think how their actions strike other people. They are deeply self-centred, both individually and nationally, and do not normally appreciate what their record looks like to out-

siders—a change of side in both the world wars coupled with political irresponsibility in between.

Italians are strangely united in their attitude towards us. They respect us enormously but few really like us. Our arrival has, certainly at first, seemed just as much like foreign occupation to them as that of the Germans. German propaganda has had much success in persuading people that our motives were not what they seemed, and that so-called liberation was a word to catch them by. Several young Italians have said to me, without a back thought, that they consider themselves individually more intelligent than us, even if collectively they are less successful. For it is our success that the Italian resents. It seems to him unfair; and he would like to cash in on this resentment.

He knows his country is at present dangerously dis-united, and that wildnesses are afoot which might lead even to civil war. So he wants a British occupation. He would like us to stay and protect him from himself for, say, ten years. Like that, he feels, we would have stayed long enough for all Italians, whatever their class, to want to unite to throw us out. And that would be good for Italy. Besides, if we stay, he sees that we should be bound to help in restoration of the country to a habitable state. We might even, he is beginning to realise, be in a better position to do that than the Russians—and the Italians are coming to be thankful, indeed, that they are on the fringe of the West and not the East. They would also hate the idea of the Russians having their former colonies.

This feeling of disunity hangs over Italy like a fog. Among other things it provides valuable fuel for the monarchists, who will be lucky if they see royalty survive the next few years. Even the danger of a complete split into three states is a real one, the monarchists say. One Italy would be centred on Milan, another on Rome, and the third—the old Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—on Naples. From this peril only the monarchy can save the people. And with a view to running no risks the royal supporters are glad enough to retain Prince Umberto in his present position. If the old king actually abdicated they might lose the monarchy in the process.

But this sort of talk has no meaning to the young men

from Turin and Milan. They want an Italian Socialist Republic, and will go far to get it. Even the Christian Democrats have come out against the monarchy. Feeling among the industrial workers is partly the result of foreign propaganda, but it is partly based on their own reasoning. 'We want a greater share in the wealth and in the direction of the country,' they say, 'and to us it seems that the monarchy was in with Mussolini. After all, it never attempted to turn him out, did it, even when things started going wrong? And how can we trust it not to do the same again if it gets the chance?' 'Down with the House of Savoy,' 'Away with the King'—go the writings on the walls of the Northern towns.

In Italy you get a tremendous feeling of the oldness of things. Even the very land seems old. Every acre of soil that can be has been tilled from the early times. It is impossible to escape from this sense of scrupulously conscientious development. And, except in the real mountains, the Alps or the Gran Sasso or parts of the Northern Apennines, you can never feel alone in Italy. If you stop by the roadside for five minutes somebody is by you. But now a change is coming about in the way these holdings of land are held. In Italy the metayage system still widely exists, and it is customary for the peasant not to own the land he cultivates, but to rent it. The rent he pays his landlord is, as it has been for hundreds of years, half his annual produce. Now, the government has come along and wants to change this proportion from a half to a third. Then, if possible, it would like to lower it still further, or alternatively buy out the landlord and make the state the lessor.

These ideas have unsettled the rural relationships, till the future of owners depends largely on how they have behaved towards their tenantry in the past, particularly during the war. And the crucial point is whether they stayed on their properties when the tide of war came their way. To do so was no easy decision to make, though the peasants themselves had little enough choice in the matter; if they left their land they gave up all they possessed. I know of two big houses in the Chianti country. In one the owners stayed; in the other they did not. The ones who stayed are now receiving help and loyalty from the poorer people all round them,

while the others have been robbed ever since. And it is no exaggeration to say that if there is an outbreak of civil disturbance—as there may be in any part of Italy at any time—they will be lucky if they die in their beds. They will certainly not retain a hold on their property nor receive any rents from it.

The family who stayed on in their house through the battle have quite a tale to tell. During the first few days German troops were billeted on them. Then one morning they woke up to find the yard full of Goums, and the Germans gone. The Goums cleared the countryside of chickens, and moved on the next day two miles up the valley. Here, however, the front line stuck for three weeks. The Coldstream Guards relieved the French black troops during this period. In spite of occasional shellfire the family grew accustomed to the situation, and, it being high summer, resumed having meals on the terrace outside. Every now and again there would be an air-raid alarm, and the military—who received it—went to shelter. The family—who did not—remained blissfully where they were.

The atmosphere in Northern Italy that first week after the flight of the Germans was curiously like what Ireland must have been in its famous turbulent days. If you drove about the roads you never knew what you would find five miles farther on. The armistice had not yet been signed with the Third Reich, and there were isolated parties of German stragglers still resisting, sometimes as many as a thousand strong. At the entrance to every village there was a road block, made up of concrete blocks or a tree trunk or a farm cart across the road, and guarded by half a dozen partisans, some of whom gave the clenched fist salute as they passed you through, and a fair scowl into the bargain. To many Northern Italians it had seemed that the Po plain had been liberated entirely by their own partisans. The brave blow, struck at the just moment, seemed in minds which knew nothing more than they saw, to have been all that was necessary to push the Germans out. And as a result the Allies were not popular in those first moments.

Least appreciated of all, however, were the men of our British Italian divisions. Their Northern countrymen had soaked in a good deal of German propaganda and did

not believe that Southern Italians were really helping the Allies. Least of all did they expect to find fully fledged fighting units of their own people, dressed in British battledress with Italian badges of rank, using British equipment and fighting as integral parts of the Allied armies. Churchill referred to these divisions on the radio as the Free Italians. But to the people of the Alpine foothills, when they arrived, they were traitors.

These feelings eased as the weeks after the victory passed on their way. People in the North began to hear what the South had been doing. And with the truth grew some understanding, though it is symptomatic of the immediate aftermath in Italy that such distrust and suspicion should continue to linger still. If the physical ruins of war are heaped around the Italians, the moral and psychological ones are too. And it is in the stage of taking stock of these spectres that the country yet finds itself.

The best I have heard of the eventual future was put to me one day by a German to whom I had given a lift in the car. A Jew, he had fled to France in 1933, served in the French army till North Africa, and now found himself in the British.

'Italy,' he said, 'is like a fish without a tail. It cannot stay still and yet cannot go forward. If someone were to give it a new tail it might swim excellently. But I wonder sometimes if anyone ever will.'

RICHARD GOOLD-ADAMS.

Art. 5.—POST-MORTEM ON VOTING AT THE ELECTION.

MASS-OBSERVATION *

IN order to predict the results of a General Election it is necessary to carry out a large number of superficial interviews in a large number of places. In order to find out

* Mass-Observation is an independent organisation which investigates mass opinions and habits. During the war it has accumulated a great deal of material which forms a historical record of the impact of the war on the people of this country. Address: 21 Bloomsbury St., London, W.C.1.

what people are thinking it is advisable to limit the survey to a few places and to investigate intensively the attitudes of a smaller number of people. The same survey cannot fulfil both purposes and Mass-Observation, whose aim it is to discover the real nature of public attitudes, always uses the second method. During the recent General Election Mass-Observation made no predictions; activity was concentrated to a great extent in a single London constituency. This constituency contained both middle-class and working-class elements, with working class predominating. From the material collected and from past investigations it is hoped to discover the factors which led to the runaway Labour victory, how lasting they are likely to be, and to what extent they represent a real change in social outlook. Meanwhile this interim report has been prepared to deal with the more important facts discovered from the survey of the single constituency. Little attempt is made here to link these facts with the vast amount of material collected during the preceding years.

The constituency chosen for investigation had been Conservative for several elections until a by-election in 1931 when a Labour candidate was returned. In 1935 the Conservatives regained the seat by a majority of a little over 1,000 in a straight Labour-Conservative fight. At the 1945 election the three main parties were all represented by a candidate and a fourth candidate representing a minor left-wing party was withdrawn shortly before nomination day. There were no really outstanding personalities to blur the political issue. Selection of a sample presented some difficulty since only the pre-war constitution of the electorate was known and interviewing service voters was impracticable. It was probably as much luck as judgment which provided a sample whose voting intention was no more than 1 per cent. different from the votes actually cast; but this accuracy means that the opinions of the sample are likely in other respects to be a good cross-section of the constituency as a whole. At this election the Labour candidate was elected with a majority of over 5,000; the Liberal forfeited his deposit.

The successful candidate was a University lecturer who had progressed by means of scholarships. In speaking he relied on reasonable argument rather than

demagogy ; in fact, his speeches were apt to be above the head of the audience. He impressed chiefly by means of his obvious sincerity. The Conservative ex-member was an army officer, the son of a peer, good-looking, apparently little known but not disliked in the constituency. The Liberal was also an army officer ; of a political family ; young ; standing for parliament for the first time. He did not give the impression of being outstanding in any way, his chief asset being a youthful frankness. The influence of the candidates on the results was therefore largely a negative one ; comparatively few votes were either won by personality or lost by lack of it, except that a more experienced Liberal candidate might not have forfeited his deposit.

Interest and Voting

In the first week of the survey, which was the second week in June, 34 per cent. said they had taken no interest in the General Election and 57 per cent. no interest in the local one. By the last few days of campaigning these figures had been reduced to 17 and 24 per cent. The greater interest in the national election in the early stages was somewhat natural, since radio campaigning was under way before local meetings started and the national press had already been carrying election news for some time. The comparative interest shown by different groups of the community can be seen by treating the four weeks of the survey together ; in all, the following proportions of the different groups professed to be taking no interest in the election :

	General election		Local election	
	Per cent.		Per cent.	
Men	16		30	
Women	37		46	
Middle Class	8		21	
Artisan Class	16		34	
Labouring Class	42		47	
Under 35	29		43	
35 and over	24		34	

The middle-class men were the most interested group, labouring-class women the least. Comparatively speaking, the Labouring Class was influenced more by the local (or less by the national) election than other groups. This

is in keeping with other surveys, where the same parochialism of the lower end of the class scale, the same sex and class differences, and the same slightly greater interest in politics among older people is usually found. In this survey the pattern of interest was reflected also in the proportions of people who had made up their minds at various stages how they were going to vote. It was particularly noticeable that young working-class women were undecided about how to vote and from previous experience there is little doubt that one of the reasons was that they were often unable to consult their husbands or sweethearts who were away in the forces. Large numbers of working women consider politics to be a man's affair and vote as their husbands tell them; the older women would know how their husbands would like them to vote, but the younger ones had not yet had time to find this out; for this type of working-class woman would never talk politics with her husband without a special stimulus such as an election.

An examination of the voting intention of the different groups gives valuable information. Considering only those who intend to vote and have at least a definite leaning towards a particular party, the following figures are obtained :

		Conservative and allied parties	Labour	Liberal
		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Men .. ..	..	30	62	8
Women .. ..	..	43	47	10
Middle Class	..	58	30	12
Artisan Class	..	37	51	12
Labouring Class	..	23	72	5
Under 35 ..	..	26	66	8
35 and over	..	41	50	9

The biggest group difference is a class one, but there are also fair-sized sex and age differences. The age difference is no bigger than the sex one, so that it is misleading to speak of youth having Left sympathies without mentioning the Conservative tendency among women.

Voting intention is particularly interesting in relation to the Liberals. The Artisan Class is as likely to vote Liberal as the Middle Class, but there are few Liberal supporters among the Labouring Class. Analysis of

those who at varying times during the survey said that they had not yet made up their minds how they were going to vote showed that one in every four of these were considering voting Liberal. A Liberal candidate with more personality and experience than the one in this constituency might have got quite a number more votes ; but these people who were undecided could not have done more than save the candidate's deposit even if all had voted Liberal. For many the thought that the Liberal was unlikely to be elected and that even if he was elected his party stood no chance of having a majority in Parliament was a sufficient reason not to vote for him.

In order to find what swing there had been among those who voted at the last election, an analysis was made of the relation between voting then and voting intention this time, among those aged thirty-five and over. The following table, in which actual figures, not percentages, are used, gives a surprising result :

Voted last time for :	Intend to vote this time for :			Not voting, etc.
	Cons.	Lab.	Lib.	
Cons.	54	10	4	12
Lab.	10	50	4	5
Lib. (another consti- tuency)	3	1	2	2
Not voting, etc. . .	7	22	5	27

The salient points about this table are * :

- (a) There are as many ex-Labourites voting Conservative as ex-Conservatives voting Labour.
- (b) There are more ex-Conservatives than ex-Labourites who do not intend to vote.
- (c) A considerable number of those who failed to vote last time are this time voting Labour.

While 218 people in a single constituency is not a large enough sample to generalise with certainty, these figures strongly suggest that the large Labour majority did not arise from a change of opinion among those who had

* It is, of course, possible that some people merely say they voted last time for the party they intend to vote for this time, regardless of facts. But about 1 in 4 of those specifying a party at both elections say they have changed their party ; and the proportions for the last election are reasonably near to the actual voting then ; so it does not seem likely that there is a serious error from this cause.

previously been Conservative supporters, but from the following three sources :

- (1) Young people who had not previously voted.
- (2) Older people who had a vote at the last election but did not use it.
- (3) Conservative sympathisers who did not vote.

The Issues

When an attempt was made to discover what the real issues in the election were, the only possible conclusion was that the things normally spoken of as 'issues' were of comparatively minor importance. In terms of mass-reactions the term seems to have very little significance. One method of approach used was to ask people what they thought were the most important things being discussed at the election. In the replies, housing was mentioned so often that everything else became by comparison unimportant. Yet it could scarcely be said that housing was an election issue in any real sense. The predominance of housing is shown by the following table in which the number of mentions received by each topic is expressed in terms of the number of mentions of housing :

Housing	100	Shortages	15
Employment	31	Nationalisation ..	12
Social Security ..	19	Controls	10
International Matters..	15		

Other topics such as Demobilisation, Taxation and wages, Education, the Japanese War, were mentioned still less often. Certainly there were fewer explicit policies put forward in this election than in most others, but about Nationalisation and Controls there were considerable party differences. Nor was the constituency in which the survey was made one of the most bombed constituencies, so that there is no reason to suppose that housing was a more urgent problem here than in many other places throughout the country.

Another approach to the problem was to ask people what they liked most about the party they intended to vote for. Again nothing which could be called an election issue was mentioned with any great frequency. The most mentioned reasons were :

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Conservative Party		Labour Party	
	Per cent.		Per cent.
Admiration for Churchill	15	The working-class party	43
Trustworthiness.. ..	14	Trustworthiness ..	8
Got the money, used to ruling	12	General Home Policy	8
No foolishness	9	Nationalisation ..	6
'Always vote for them'..	8	International affairs ..	6
Private Enterprise ..	7		

(Percentages are of the supporters of each party)

No other reason was mentioned by more than 5 per cent. of the party's supporters. The reasons people give are worth quoting in the contact's own words. Examples of the identification of the Labour Party with working-class interests are :

' Well, actually, I mean, it's the views of the average working man. Certainly it wants things put in order.'

' Well, I'm a working man myself. I think a working man that votes Conservative is balmy.'

' Well, I think it's out to help the working classes.'

On the balance and trustworthiness attributed to the Conservative Party :

' They seem more balanced than the others.'

' It seems to be a policy which is more based on practicalities.'

' They don't brag a lot but obviously they do get things done.'

Comparatively frequently it was said that the Conservatives were more used to ruling ; and with this attitude was mixed up a rather strange one, that the Conservatives had the money and could therefore do better for the country. It appeared almost that these people thought that the party in power financed the country :

' A lot of people say they're no good because they've got the money. Now they *have* got the money, it's true, but after all, they're the people we need. They know what to do and they've got the money to do it with and I say that we can depend on them. We've got to trust somebody and I say the people who were born to it know what to do.'

The Liberal Party was not supported sufficiently for a numerical analysis of its supporters' attitudes to be made,

but the most frequent type of comment was that it took the middle path :

' They're not extreme either way—more sensibly balanced.'

' Well, Labour stands for controlling you and Conservatives for big finance, but the Liberals seem to be in the middle.'

These results suggest a new line of approach to the 'floating vote.' The large majority of people are influenced more by the general reputation of a party than by its immediate election policy ; all the main influences, except the personal influence of Mr Churchill, are the outcome of party policies over a long period of years and a considerable number of elections. Nor does it seem likely that the smaller number of people who mentioned such issues as nationalisation belong to the 'floating vote' ; for it is difficult to imagine someone who otherwise had Conservative leanings being converted to the Labour Party because it preached Socialism. Support of a party seems to depend on deeper feelings than an intellectual appreciation of policy ; and from this it can be inferred that any *sudden* change in sympathies is liable to have emotional ties with some deeper attitude. Over a period of years the deeper attitudes themselves may change, but for an election campaign to have any considerable effect it must succeed in linking existing feelings either favourably with the party propagandised or unfavourably with the opposing party. Since the last war there have been several occasions on which this has been successfully achieved by the Conservative Party. Whether it is a desirable method is not for Mass-Observation to judge ; but this survey suggests that it is the only method likely to sway many votes during the final election campaign.

Personalities

Since the constituency had been specially chosen to eliminate the influence of local personalities, these naturally had less effect than national ones. There was, however, one interesting exception. In the neighbouring constituency was a fairly well-known Labour personality who was extremely popular in the district. The boundaries of the constituencies corresponded to no administrative division and were not generally known. A result of this was that a considerable number of Labour supporters

said they were voting for Blank, the Labour candidate in the next constituency. There can be no doubt that this candidate's personality had an appreciable effect on the voting in the constituency investigated.

The biggest personality in the election was, of course, Mr Churchill. Several people said they were going to vote for 'Churchill's Party' and a few even said they were going to vote 'for Churchill' in spite of having Labour sympathies in other ways. The tendency was particularly marked among women, who tend always to pay more attention to personalities in political affairs than men.

The great use made of Mr Churchill by the Conservatives was good electioneering, but he himself reduced the extent of his influence by his first radio speech. Three-quarters of the constituency heard or read the speech and seven out of ten of these disapproved of it. No speech of Churchill's since the war started has met with nearly as much disapproval. Disapproval ranged from remarks like :

'Well, what could I think of it? That a great man like Churchill should have spoken like he did.'

to :

'It sounded childish to me. Surely he couldn't expect *any* grown-up person to believe what he said.'

The remarks about a Labour Gestapo were considered 'just daft' and aroused a good deal of resentment. Although about one in ten said they agreed with him, most of these appeared to be confirmed Conservatives. Very few were influenced against the Labour Party by this speech.

The later use made of Churchill was more successful, and particularly his tour. While waiting for his arrival in the constituency investigated, there was a good deal of discussion among the large crowd of which the following sample shows the mood (each comment is by a different person) :

'Marvellous the way Churchill's stuck it.'

'He's late—I wonder what's happened to him? I expect he's been mobbed on the way.'

'I thought I must see him and give a cheer.'

'He's no good for the working class—never was.'

'Whether his politics are yours or not, you've got to hand it to him.'

'It's him what started the mud-slinging.'

When he passed by there was some booing as well as cheering, but afterwards the majority of remarks were concerned with his tired look and the great strain of his election tour. Even his opponents made remarks such as :

'I'm sorry for Churchill. They're killing the old chap. He's the Tory dog that's got to be on show—they're killing him between themselves.'

The Laski scare was not exactly a damp squib, but did not make any great impression. Comparatively few people mentioned Laski as an outstanding figure in the election, considering the publicity he had been given in the Conservative press, and there were very few spontaneous references to him. That occasionally there was one indicates that the scare was not entirely without effect.

Contacts were asked who they thought were the most outstanding personalities in the election apart from Churchill. The following table gives the proportion of those mentioning at least one name who mentioned each of the names listed.

Per cent.				Per cent.			
Attlee	..	..	37	Cripps	..	..	11
Bevin	..	..	36	Beveridge	..	..	8
Eden	..	..	31	Laski	..	..	7
Morrison	..	..	18	Beaverbrook	..	..	7

Considering that Eden's only part in the campaign was a single radio speech, his high place on the list indicates his popularity. Throughout the greater part of the war he was the next choice of the public for Prime Minister after Churchill. Beaverbrook was mentioned particularly in the early part of the election campaign when he was thought to be the power behind the Conservative throne. Laski was more mentioned towards the end of the campaign. The neighbouring Labour candidate referred to above was also mentioned by 7 per cent. Bevin's high place in the list may be partly due to the fact that he spoke in the constituency, as did Laski also.

General Attitude to the Election

During the last few years Mass-Observation has found a good deal of cynicism about politics among the general public. Remarks like 'They're all the same once they get the power' were frequently met. In attitudes to the election, however, cynicism was not so prevalent. When asked whether they thought their own party would do all it said it would do, little more than one in ten said they thought not. The general mood is illustrated by the following comments :

- 'They'll have a good try.'
- 'Yes, if it's allowed to.'
- 'It'll do it's best.'

A few said :

- 'I doubt that of any party.'

and a few abstained from voting through cynicism, but most people did not doubt the sincerity of the party policies.

One in four were doubtful whether their party would do what they wanted about the thing they were most interested in—usually housing—but this was more often said to be because it was not possible than because of the ineptitude of the party :

'No, it isn't possible to do everything whatever party gets in.'

'No, there's too many if's and but's about everything. No doubt there'll be efforts made, but I think it will be a very slow process.'

This comparative absence of cynicism was no doubt in part a result of the restrained programmes which both parties put forward. Neither indulged in wild promises, and their restraint, together with the novelty of a General Election, held cynicism at least temporarily at bay. Unfortunately the restraint in making promises did not extend to restraint in criticism of the other party and its leaders. Throughout the campaign dissatisfaction with the election propaganda grew. Towards the end comments like these were being made by a majority of people questioned on the matter :

- 'Everybody's cutting each other's throats.'
- 'Oh, to tell the truth—I could say it but I won't—it's

all balderdash and bunkum. Mustn't say any more. Some of the things that are heard! Awful!'

Such propaganda is surely only one degree less likely to breed cynicism than false promises. Should cynicism ever reach the stage of preventing really large numbers of people from using their vote, the foundations of democracy will have crumbled. It seems to us important that a constant watch be kept on the growth of political cynicism and no move made by politicians which would increase it.

Main Conclusions

(1) The sex and class differences in attitudes to the election are bigger than age differences.

(2) The Labour majority arose from those who had not voted last time and those who failed to vote this time rather than from a swing among those who voted both times.

(3) Election programmes did little to sway the vote except insofar as they may have affected long-term attitudes to the parties.

(4) In spite of the large Labour majority and an unfortunate speech on the radio, Mr Churchill's personality had a considerable effect on the election, particularly among women.

(5) Although the parties made no rash election promises which would have increased political cynicism, there is a possibility that the electioneering abuse of opposing personalities may have an effect only a little less bad.

Art. 6.—LIBRARIES AND THEIR USE.

1. *The Library Service of Great Britain*. By Lionel McColvin. London. Library Association, 1942.
2. *The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library*. By Fremont Rider. New York City. Hadham Press, 1944.
3. *Subject Index of the Modern works added to the British Museum Library, 1936-1940*. Two volumes. London. British Museum, 1944.

CONSIDERABLE progress has been made in the development of libraries and their use in the last quarter of a century. The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1919, by removing the limit on the amount of the rate which might be levied for the provision of a public library and the establishment of the county as a unit for library organisation, contributed important factors to the advance in the public library service. This has been paralleled by the developments in building and to some extent in library technique in great libraries such as the Bodleian and Cambridge University, while the new needs of commerce and science have given occasion for the establishment of a wide range of special libraries, which have been fostered by the Association of Special Libraries established in 1925. Naturally there remain some backwaters untouched by the stream of progress. From the evidence given to a committee of the House of Commons just before the dissolution their library appears to be a notable example.

The minutes have been published in a parliamentary paper, which is probably one of the most remarkable of its kind ever allowed to be made public. It contains what is described as a 'Pearl Harbour attack' by one public servant upon another, who retaliated with what he called 'a sort of Battle of the Coral Sea reply.' The state of the library is hardly less discreditable to the primary offender. No thorough effort to reorganise the library has been made since the middle of last century. It requires to be re-catalogued and the curious proposition is advanced that this can only be done when the House is in recess. There is a subject index which was printed some seventy years ago and has since been kept up in manuscript. According to the librarian 'it is now so completely overloaded with manuscript additions that it is very difficult to use it at all.' The Library is sadly lacking in works on finance, economics, and social sciences, which would seem to be among the primary needs of members of Parliament at the present time. An immediate expenditure of 3,000*l.* is required to bring that section up to a reasonable standard for a reference Library for Parliament. Literature relating to the Dominions and colonies is also inadequate in the Library. In that connection the evidence makes no reference to

the existence of a useful collection within the precincts in the possession of the Empire Parliamentary Association. Only one member of the Staff has had any training as a librarian, which in the opinion of the Librarian 'gives him a considerable advantage' and he added: 'I can go and consult him on points as a librarian which are quite out of my range because I have never come across them.'

Conditions of war have made their contribution to the appreciation of the value of reading and led to a remarkable extension of the library services. The idea that men on active service, especially those in hospital, only required light literature was soon dissipated by the expression of their wishes. Indeed the demands of the serving man were more varied than those of the civilian as he had fresh needs such as technical books. The enormous supplies sent out through the Red Cross and St John War Organisation to the sick and the Services Central Book Depot for the whole in all the theatres of war reached astronomical figures. But perhaps the leading place in library supplies can be awarded to those provided with the aid of the Pilgrim Trust for prisoners of war. Nothing was more remarkable than the way in which they not only passed professional examinations as a result of their studies while in the camps but took high positions in the list of successful candidates.

Books have also been given a larger place than they occupied previously in the lives of men and women engaged in civil defence as well as among the ordinary population,* including those either evacuated or kept indoors during the time of the blackout or seeking safety in shelters.† Whether this appreciation of the value of reading becomes permanent remains to be seen as other attractions resume their place in the life of the community. Patients in hospital have certainly maintained their interest in reading. During the war of 1914 to 1918 there was a marked development in the provision of

* The National Allotment Society, for example, asked the Gardeners' Company to establish a library as the best way to help their members to grow more vegetables.

† Provision was made by the public library service for shelter libraries in at least fourteen London districts. The stocks consisting of several thousand volumes were changed at intervals and were much used. See McColvin, *ubi sup.*, at p. 210.

books and there has been a similar advance during the past six years.

The library service for patients has enlisted the zeal and enthusiasm of a large number of voluntary workers originally inspired by Mrs Gaskell. Aided by the professional knowledge of Dr, afterwards Sir, Hagberg Wright she established an organisation to carry on the work so successfully initiated during the years of war. The appreciation which has been shown by the patients has found a response from the voluntary librarians who to literary taste have desired to add a broader knowledge of books and some idea of library technique. With a view to furthering these objects they formed themselves into the Guild of Hospital Librarians. From being a recreational service for the patients it has now developed as one making a definite contribution to the patient's restoration to full health. This was well expressed at a conference last July under the auspices of the Guild of Hospital Librarians to deal with reading as a restorative, when Sir Drummond Shiels, representing an increasing number of the medical profession, paid tribute to the therapeutic value of reading. For some years the Library Association have taken an active interest in this development. Its members, in spite of the exacting demands upon them during the war not only for library services but in a variety of other capacities, have made their contribution. Naturally their primary concern is with the patients in the hospitals of their own local authority and in some areas this is now an established section of the public library service. More recently the initiative has come from the hospitals, especially those with a large proportion of disabled patients, whose needs have rendered necessary the appointment of a whole-time salaried librarian.

The weak point in the present working of the libraries for patients is that the accommodation for them is generally of a very makeshift character. In any plans for extension or new buildings, this defect will need to be remedied in the general hospitals as it has been already in some mental hospitals.

The hospital library service deserves attention at the present time as demonstrating the cooperation between voluntary workers and a public service. The combina-

tion takes a variety of forms. The relationship which is steadily developing is that the public library provides the skilled direction for the voluntary librarians and contributes to the supply of books, in particular by supplying the volumes for which the patients make special requests. There are still too many people ready to send any rubbish, not always clean, to the hospitals, but the standard has been raised considerably in recent years as new books, sometimes in a special format, have been obtained for the libraries from public monies and the British Red Cross Society. The voluntary librarians have contributed to the attractiveness of the books by their proficiency in repairing them. An exhibition organised by the Lancashire branch of the British Red Cross Society displayed the success which can be attained with artistic taste and skill from the inadequate materials available in war time.

The sick in hospital, however, are only a cross-section of the general public and their increased desire for reading is fairly representative of the community as a whole. The service to the patient in hospital is only part of the home service of the public library as he is a ratepayer in a hospital bed instead of his own. Of the increased use of the public libraries and by a wider range of the community there is no doubt. The general reader too, like the patient, is more often desirous of obtaining reading of some substance rather than merely light literature. In fact, so much is this the case that there are advocates of the public library devoting itself to the serious reader while leaving commercial enterprise to provide for the reader who merely wants a book to pass the time away. The commercial subscription libraries have had the same experience as the public libraries that the tendency of their readers is towards more serious reading, though it still remains definitely recreational. In fact it is not their purpose to provide for the student, for whom the London Library occupies a pre-eminent place. The commercial lending libraries, from those whose names are household words down to the tobacconist in the dreary suburb, cover a wide range catering for different sections of the population. The public library is for all and the way in which it has maintained and extended its service under the exacting conditions of the years of war is worthy of the warmest commendation.

While on the one hand it is very difficult to gauge the precise character of the public demand for books it is now also equally problematic to estimate the extent of the supply. Before the war there was a considerable reduction in the size of libraries of the section of the population, who had moved from large houses to flats without the same amount of accommodation for book-cases. That diminished supply available without resort to any outside source has been still further depleted during the years of war. Owners of even a small private library were presented with a series of problems by the various agencies engaged in collecting books for a number of worthy purposes. The waste-paper campaign came into the field with much vigour in the early days. It was soon found that it was destroying books which could not and would not be replaced by the thus replenished supplies of paper. The public librarians came to the rescue and a little well-organised publicity about 'finds' soon led the generous impulses to submit to informed regulation in the interests of the community as a whole. The zeal by which the collection of paper was taken up through the elementary schools revealed the possession, previously unrealised, of a range of literature by the section of the community from whom the scholars are drawn. Many possessors of ordinary private libraries finding themselves on the move from their homes were glad to respond in a comprehensive manner to the appeal of one of the deserving claims among which the Red Cross War Organisation was pre-eminent. But if time and opportunity permitted the owner to effect a careful distribution it was a revelation to find the range of needs met by an ordinary library for daily use and the extent of the inconvenience caused by the gaps on the shelves. One example must suffice. The natural response to the waste-paper collection seemed to be blue books. At the beginning of the war nobody expected to hear any more of the volume commonly known as the Barlow Report. It had gone the way of the average Royal Commission. Before the end of hostilities both political parties had realised that its proposals for the redistribution of industry contained basic principles for the rebuilding of the national life. Then it was no good to cry over spilt milk, or to be more correct in the metaphor, over pulped paper. Periodical

literature was a regular and steady source of supply for the waste-paper man. In spite of the restrictions upon the use of paper the amount available for ephemeral purposes was quite remarkable. But when various sections of the private library had been sacrificed to the pulping machine with diminishing readiness as the unregulated uses of the newly made paper became apparent, there still remained a number of competitors for the light literature, belles lettres, biography, etc., and in particular for books dealing with current affairs. The Inter-Allied Book Centre under the chairmanship of Sir Ernest Barker makes a strong case for the replenishment of libraries destroyed on the Continent. Replacement is impossible and is likely to remain so for some time to come, especially having regard to the desirability of exporting English books throughout the Commonwealth and Empire as well as to foreign countries. Conditions in respect to the production of books are at last receiving some attention. An announcement by the new President of the Board of Trade that the government are 'very much alive to the need for paper for books' ('The Times,' Oct. 11) is to their credit. Many readers have been discouraged and failed to obtain the spiritual replenishment of which they had begun to learn the value during the strain of war. Others have looked round for outside resources from which to gain supplies and have naturally turned to the public library. The Library Association are alive to this opportunity and desirous to make full use of it.

Mr McColvin, the Westminster City Librarian, has done a valuable piece of work in the comprehensive survey which he has made of the public library system of Great Britain. Primarily intended as the basis for the formulation of a policy by the Library Association of which he is Honorary Secretary, at the request of the Carnegie Trustees whose munificence has done much in the creation of the public library service, it has become a readable volume which any ratepayer would be well advised to borrow from his public library, especially if he is not a regular frequenter of it. The Library Association in their proposals based upon the survey do not go too far in saying of the public library :

'The service can, if made fully accessible, pervade and enrich all aspects of living. It can, again if made fully

accessible, reach people of all age groups, occupations, and circumstances helping them to become balanced, integrated, and satisfied individuals, useful and consciously valuable and responsible citizens. . . . By the facilities it affords for wide and unfettered reading the public library enables every man not only to enlarge his mind with the refined pleasures of great literature, but in particular (at present a vital need), to secure that understanding of social and economic forces and conditions without which there can be no true realisation of the democratic ways of life.'

The stress which is laid upon the accessibility of the service in this passage is due to the inequalities which exist throughout the country. In a large measure it arises from the differences, as in other services, between the urban and rural areas. The library service suffers from the need found in other departments of life for some remodelling of the system of local government. Each service has its own solution with a suitable unit to secure efficiency. They do not agree and there are even some advocates of different units and authorities for the various services. This, however, hardly seems to be a practical policy, so that it will be necessary to find some common basis. For some time an overriding consideration for all of them is the movement of population, partly voluntary and partly stimulated by the plans for the location of industry, combined with a redistribution of the population from the large urban centres. The Library Association indeed recognise that 'the creation of suitable library authorities should be secured by such reform of local government areas and functions in general as will provide areas suitable not only for libraries but for education, public health, and most, if not indeed all, other local government purposes.' In the meantime, however, the reorganisation which is taking place of the education authorities under the Education Act of 1944 is a pointer to the direction in which action may be taken for the library service, though the Library Association regards it to be essential that the library services 'should remain strictly apart from and independent of, though closely cooperating with, the work of local education authorities.' Broadly speaking the effect of the Education Act is to eliminate small and ineffective units and to make the councils of counties and county boroughs the sole educa-

tion authorities. The library service is happily free from the entanglement of voluntary authorities with vested interests to be found in the education and hospital spheres. In that connection, in view of current controversies, it is well to observe that the standard of service rendered by the staff in the rate-supported public library will compare favourably with any to be found in any private library under the control of a voluntary corporation.

In spite of not very attractive conditions and definitely low rates of pay the library service has enlisted recruits with a real sense of vocation. It responds to a human need, especially for girls, in that it involves a certain amount of dealing with persons rather than inanimate objects. Even the books have a living interest which is lacking in the bank or the commercial house. For that reason it will be necessary to proceed cautiously with the proposed grading of the staff, whereby one section will remain devoted to clerical and administrative work, possibly interchangeable with other branches of the local government service, while others will proceed up the library ladder with a view to attaining positions of responsibility and control. The latter will involve advancement in training and knowledge to be imparted by raising the standard for the associateship and fellowship of the Association. Proposals have been put forward by the Council and have stimulated lively discussion. Into the merits of the respective points of view it is not necessary to enter, but it is important to note that there are two doors of entry into the profession of librarianship. One is of the nature of a system of apprenticeship whereby the boy or girl leaving school secures a post in a public library and undertakes the necessary study for the Association's examinations as an addition to the day's work, though recent proposals will modify that by providing for a period devoted to whole-time study. The other is the School of Librarianship, which suffered a severe loss by the death on active service of its Head, Mr J. D. Cowley, but is now resuming its activities in providing a vocational course mainly for university graduates. There may be a certain amount of rivalry between the products of the two courses for the plums of the profession. That is probably quite healthy as both are still feeling their way towards the most satisfactory form of

intellectual equipment for the librarian. The one thing for them both to avoid is to turn out a man with the impression that he is a finished product. The one absolutely necessary quality in a good librarian is that he should be a student, not in the academic sense but rather an acquirer of knowledge for the rest of his life. The possession of information by the Librarian is useful for the readers but even more important is it for him to know where to find it. That faculty is best developed by the man who realises how limited is the capacity of one mind and is only anxious to show how wide are the resources of the library under his control.

The balance of expenditure between staff and accommodation is not one easily adjusted, but having regard to the demands upon the librarian it can readily be shown that he is the most inadequately remunerated professional man in the country. At the same time his work cannot be done efficiently if he has unsatisfactory premises and equipment. The library should be, as Mr McColvin says, a worthy and beautiful expression of the true spirit of librarianship. Progress has been made in recent years in the internal furnishing though in his tour he has found that 'most libraries are uncomfortable, drab, uninviting and institutional.' Frequenters of private libraries with some of the amenities which he desires may perhaps think that more can be said for a Spartan environment than Mr McColvin puts forward, especially if one remembers that a library is primarily intended for reading and not for sleeping.* The building may, however, have some supplementary use especially if there is a room available for local educational groups and committees. This raises the larger question whether the library should attempt to become a centre of culture, perhaps even be associated as in a community centre with social and recreational activities. There is something attractive in the idea but on the whole the place of the library is alongside the leading educational institutions rather than in association with those which are concerned with the physical health of the people.

* There is, for example, a good deal of repose in the Library of the House of Commons though the Librarian tries not to see it and pays no attention unless he hears it—Evidence before Select Committee of May 9, 1945.

Although an increasingly large section of the population are making use of the public libraries there is a considerable number who never frequent them but who are dependent upon other sources of supply for such books as they may require, either for recreation or professional use. It becomes all the more important to organise, so that the still remaining considerable resources of material are readily available, especially where much damage has been done, as in the case of law, to which attention has already been drawn in these pages (see 'Quarterly Review,' vol. 282, p. 427). Steps towards combined action have been taken by the medical libraries, especially in respect to periodicals. In order to meet the needs of the medical services of the Forces there has been a development of the use of the micro-film, though mainly in order to provide copies of recent articles containing important developments in research. Enough experience has been gained, however, to raise the question how far the micro-film is going to supersede the printed page. It is quite clear that its use is being established as a necessary measure for storing newspapers and similar shelf-space occupying publications.

Among the users of research libraries social workers and the student of social sciences have taken a prominent place in recent years. Many new libraries have been formed by different organisations. Their libraries and their work might be greatly advanced by close collaboration with the Library of the London School of Economics and Political Science in such matters, for example, as the supply of catalogue entries. In the London Bibliography of Social Sciences published by L.S.E. they have an admirable foundation for all their studies and the next decennial supplement will be a singularly valuable volume, which should be of particular interest even for those who do not possess the original work.

The destruction wrought by the Hun has stimulated the interest in history and the desire to preserve material for its study. In that connection it is interesting to note the attention which is being given to cathedral libraries, so fulfilling a hope expressed in these pages more than forty years ago ('Quarterly Review,' vol. 195, p. 450) by Dr M. R. James, Provost of Eton, who was well known as an authority on mediæval libraries. The Pilgrim

Trust have provided the funds for their contents published before the year 1700 to be catalogued on a uniform basis.

Research libraries are the subject of a volume by Mr Fremont Rider, Librarian of the Wesleyan University Library, which comes from a little known Press in New York and has aroused a good deal of attention in this country. He has written especially to meet the problem presented by the ever-increasing accumulation of volumes required for the research libraries, which he defines to be 'the stored-up knowledge of the race, warehouses of fact, and surmise in all their forms and infinitely remote ramifications, the raw material from which our humanists and our scientists are going to develop later new facts and fresh surmises.' He distinguishes it from the public library as it cannot be selective but must provide all the material upon its subjects. On the basis of figures collected from a number of university and college libraries he finds that the number of volumes keeps on doubling itself every sixteen years. There seems to be some statistical fallacy in this proposition though Mr Rider states that 'every scrap of statistical evidence that we can gather shows that, as far back as we can reach, the story is exactly the same.' Although his argument rests to a considerable extent upon the magnitude of the problem, nevertheless the solution merits some attention, as every librarian, in a greater or less degree, is constantly having to face difficulties of space and the need to make the constantly accumulating material readily available to the reader. Mr Rider envisages the possibility of sweeping changes involving nothing less than the supersession of the present library technique. He develops a suggestion originally made by Dr L. A. Sayce of Newcastle-on-Tyne at the 1937 conference of the Association of Special Libraries. Micro-cards will constitute the contents of the libraries and in one step take the place both of books and catalogues. On the back of the catalogue card the book will be reproduced in a micro-text. In a few years' time by the improvements in micro-photography the possibility is envisaged of putting as many as five hundred ordinary size book pages on the back of one single catalogue card. But even without a reduction on that scale it is clear that there will be a very considerable saving in space occupied as there will be no

books on the shelves but only cards in the catalogue drawers. No staff of cataloguers will be required as all the catalogue cards will be supplied as part of the execution of the order for the books. It is a gruesome prospect that our libraries may consist of nothing but cards and a micro-film projector will be just as much a part of our normal equipment as a watch. The obvious reaction is to dismiss the whole idea as preposterous,* but unfortunately there are signs from quite another direction that the printed book is passing through an era of transition. The large proportion of the space in many volumes devoted to illustrations or other similar means of imparting information has been particularly noticeable even during a period when there has been a shortage of paper. Moreover these illustrations are not provided merely for the young and the uneducated, but they are to be found in an increasing degree in works of substance for general information. While on the one hand there is evidence of an extended use of the libraries there is this tendency on the other to turn the readers into a visual audience.

But whatever may be the exact form of current literature the main point is to secure that the organisation is such as to make the supply readily available to those who desire to make use of it either for vocational or recreational purposes. Excellent work has been done in the metropolis by a combined working arrangement, which enables a ratepayer in any metropolitan borough to obtain a book available in any other library and if that cannot meet his need to have still available the resources of the National Central Library, which may even be able to help him by drawing upon a private collection. It also has available an enormous range of bibliographical information in a set of the cards of the Library of the U.S. Congress supplied by the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation. The Metropolitan organisation is a particularly good piece of team work as it involves cooperation by twenty-eight authorities and is much to the credit of the librarians who have persuaded them to bring it into operation. Similar action in the Provinces is naturally not such a simple matter, but the great centres of population have

* A Micro-card Committee has already been established in the United States and is tackling the problems connected with the proposal; see the 'Journal of Documentation,' vol 1, pp. 98-108.

not been lacking in making special arrangements to meet the particular needs of their readers especially those connected with commerce and industry. In Manchester, for example, the commercial library and information department of the Public Library is a model for any commercial undertaking.

The relationship of the official libraries to private libraries involves the reconciliation of the particular claims of classes of readers with any requests made by the outside public. Generally speaking it may be said that the genuine student who makes a courteous application is not likely to be met with a refusal. Any one, for example, who desires to satisfy a desire for knowledge stimulated by recent contacts with peoples from different parts of the Commonwealth and Empire will always find a ready welcome in the Royal Empire Society and other corporations display a similar hospitality. Using again the same example it may be expected that the inquirer will go first to Northumberland Avenue before he walks across to Downing Street, and by doing so will probably be saved a visit to the Dominions and Colonial Office Library. Only when both those sources have failed is it necessary to go up to the British Museum, though a reference to the quinquennial subject index, which has just been published, may display a vista of possibilities not presented by either. Therein is to be found a representative collection not just of the production of the British Isles nor even of the English-speaking peoples, but of the world. It has not yet perhaps adopted the American procedure of acquiring everything, good, bad, or indifferent, but its scope is far more comprehensive than is realised by the ordinarily informed taxpayer. Even in the case of our great national library the relationship to others cannot be left wholly out of consideration, as some technical subjects may be usefully contained in the Science Museum, the Natural History Museum, or the Victoria and Albert Museum libraries. In fact there are great storehouses all around us. To an increasing degree the problem of making their contents more widely known is being tackled by the custodians and the best encouragement to their efforts is to make use of what is available and to ask for more.

C. E. A. BEDWELL.

Art. 7.—'RHODESIA CALLING.'

It becomes clear that a large movement of population from this Island to the Dominions is in prospect. That portion of it already in evidence, the transport of 50,000 wives of Canadian soldiers to their overseas homes, is as hopeful as it is natural. If the exodus to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, of prospective family units, in comparison, is restricted, this does not arise from any unwillingness of young women to migrate. It is due to the vast preponderance of American and Canadian soldiers on our shores over citizens of other states. There is warrant for full faith in unabated enterprise of a rising generation. Their touch with the larger world has grown closer during the exigencies of war, while six years of shortened transport here frustrated all their longings to move farther afield. That tide will now flow the fuller, because high wages and adequate feeding give the necessary courage to embark on a great adventure. The starved and hopeless cling to their refuge—lest worse befall them. The strong-hearted and self-confident are ready to range afar for the betterment of themselves and their families.

Evidence is mounting that an altered tone will now dictate the policy of immigration to Australia. The one-time fear that imported man-power would lower high standards of wages gives place to tardy conviction that empty acres must be occupied by white men, if only in self-protection; and that an increasing entry of skilled labour will be needed for the full industrial use of converted war plant. So only can the raw material of wood, hides, grain, and minerals be dealt with on the spot—to the immense advantage of export trade. National capital so employed will inevitably attract workers of the finest calibre, and the growth of population is a natural reward of liberal policy. Inducements are therefore being held out to men of all the services to remain in Australia, when they are released from the forces; or to return at an early opportunity. Chances of full employment, at rates they have lately enjoyed, will not be likely to tempt them in this country to refuse such an invitation. No clearly defined plans have, however, been announced from Canberra or accepted in Whitehall.

Two proposals of outstanding interest have attracted much attention. Both are concerned with acceptance of children into citizenship of the New World on the Fairbridge Farm School model ; and large state assistance is in both cases announced as available for the double need : relief of distressed orphans in Europe and promotion of man-power in Greater Britain. Australia proposes, it is said, at the cost of 2,000,000*l.* to introduce and train 17,500 children a year for three years—a colossal task. Its implications can scarcely have been realised.

Southern Rhodesia proposes the more modest scheme of setting up a Fairbridge Memorial School on the site of a former flying school outside Bulawayo, with an initial intake of 100 children. This nucleus would be allowed to grow until a total of 700 at a time were accepted as Wards of the State, with a possibility of 700 more being admitted on a paying basis.

The Rhodesian scheme was about to be launched when war broke out in 1939. It is now revived by a Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord de Sausmarez, who is in close accord with Sir Godfrey Huggins, Premier of Southern Rhodesia. Of the two schemes, the Rhodesian would seem to be the most advanced in preparation and the least open to question. But to neither of them has there yet been given official blessing and promise of help from the Dominions Office.

There are grave considerations underlying every transference of children from the rightful custody of parents or blood-kin. The ideal unit for migration is that of a family. This condition is happily fulfilled in the case of the Canadian brides and wives of other returning service men. The offspring of that unit are cared for by their natural protectors and, which is a very great advantage, they tend to anchor both parents to an adopted country. Themselves grow up in an environment which becomes second nature. For orphans and under-privileged children, the aim and attempt of the Fairbridge model is to supply the lack of parental love and true family life, by a system of godparents and temporary House mothers. It engages, through its agents, not only to house and train, but to watch over the early struggles of each child to independence : to stand in *loco parentis* with after-care, advice, and financial

help, and it engages to do this from 12,000 miles distance, dependent on the full cooperation of subsidiary committees in the Dominions. Administrative problems are in such conditions no light burden. For the dual aims of child emigration schemes may all too easily come into conflict. The despatching power is primarily philanthropic: its funds are raised by compassion for the less fortunate, by anxiety to give hope and outlook to those who have none. It is genuine unselfish thought for the human child which strengthens the hands of rescue and migrating societies. Each child is envisaged as a precious unit to be endowed with all the advantages—health, education, according to talent, loving oversight, which it has missed by the tragedy of war or parental failure. Least of all shall it be branded and handicapped by any stigma of pauper upbringing.

At the receiving end those same children are primarily regarded as potential wealth. They are a valuable import of the most-needed commodity—man-power. On this ground public money is voted for their upkeep and training. The investment pays a good dividend, and immediately this commercial aspect of the scheme comes into view, there is danger lest the human problem—the true interest of each child—be overlooked.

There is no small temptation—not always resisted—to treat this imported child life, severed from its natural protectors, as so much cheap labour to be tied down as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Conscienceless exploitation creates ready wastrels, and worse, when the rights of individuals are smothered by callous greed. Nor has a community any right, for its own economic advantage, to block the free choice of career for aspiring youth. Its wisdom and its duty is to frown upon any production of helots: to encourage every ambition to grow into the full stature of self-reliant well-developed men and women.

England during recent months has suffered great shocks from revelations as to cruelty of foster-parents upon defenceless wards. The difficulty of supervision is well seen in our comparatively limited confines. That difficulty is increased tenfold in the large spaces and thinly peopled areas of the New World, where isolation or rough unfriendliness may amount to unthinking cruelty.

To this kind of fate no generous sponsor in the homeland would ever knowingly condemn a single one of its wards. He would not continue support to any society which failed to prevent such injustice. Yet this is a very present danger when supposed business exigencies override elementary claims of

'that trust of trusts
Life from the Ever-Living.'

Caution and watchfulness is therefore incumbent on those experienced officials on whose sanction approval of all such schemes must rest. They may not, for instance, take it for granted that in all the Dominions social services are equally developed with those enjoyable here. They must be satisfied that no child will forfeit a valuable heritage of education facilities or insurance by changing its domicile, and that without being consulted. They will equally demand guarantee that any scheme has ample financial backing, lest they should lightly begin and not be able to finish. A main responsibility is always the sound welfare and rightful prospects of these transferred children. The just balance between population hunting statesmen and generous philanthropy must be found.

That sanction will be given for a Rhodesian Fairbridge School there can be no reasonable doubt. The Lord Mayor of London himself took the chair at a Mansion House Meeting in June last, when a sufficiency of financiers and public men supported Lord de Sausmarez's proposals. From the other end Sir Godfrey Huggins could engage that accepted children should receive free primary education and proceed according to merit to Secondary Schools. They will have equal rights with native-born Rhodesians to valuable scholarships, which open the way through Technical Colleges and High Schools to well-paid careers. No suggestion here of confining young immigrants to one only 'blind-alley' occupation, but every intention to provide them with an educational ladder and a *carrière ouverte aux talents*.

It is half a century since territories granted to the Chartered Company assumed the name Rhodesia. A population of 70,000 Europeans in Southern Rhodesia, and 13,000 in Northern Rhodesia, controls 3,000,000 natives. Matabele, Mashona, Barotse and the like supply the

labour for mines and farming. The chief occupation of white men is direction of this labour. Northern Rhodesia, itself the size of France and Spain together, will one day be united with Southern Rhodesia, possibly even with Kenya and Bechuanaland. This country we acquired by barter from native chiefs. Our basic charter is duty of service to 'protected' folk who are not even British subjects. A hut tax of 10s. per head on adult male workers produces 80,000*l.* out of a revenue of 800,000*l.* The native receives in return—protection; whereby he can grow his crops in peace, and some education. In true following of Livingstone, Ministers of Health, Justice, and Education are evangelists of progress. Governments are glad to support Mission Schools of every colour in lieu of more advanced teaching. They have come to recognise the truth of David Livingstone's great dictum:

'The natives readily acquire the habit of saving for a market. Give a people the opportunity they will civilise themselves, and that, too, more efficiently than can be done by Missionary Societies. If English merchants would come up the Zambesi the slave-traders would very soon be driven out of the market.'

This peaceful penetration, this day by day mixing of white man with his coloured neighbour, gives the lead toward gradual elevation of 'childly' races.

It is the problem of dealing with 150 million dark-skinned folk in a sub-Continent, that Rhodesia represents in miniature. The population of Russia officered by a small contingent of later arrivals! For the native is no more indigenous than Boer or Briton. He has crashed down from central forests of the Continent to meet on the same terrain men who have sailed the seas. The clash of primitive barbarism with more advanced civilisations is thick-set with difficulty. To-day scarcely 25 per cent. of this huge mass attend any school, and even then usually leave before reaching the first standard. What is the proper policy of the white man towards this immense charge? Earlier attempts to enforce segregation in carefully delimited areas have been given up. Reserves were not adequate, and progressive detribalisation overcrowded urban districts with coloured labour, attracted by high wages in the mines.

One medical officer reports serious malnutrition among 70 per cent. of African children. This is due largely to ignorance of up-to-date farming methods and neglect of water conservation. The remedy lies in more and better education. Will Government consent to improve taxes to raise the necessary funds? And where will they find adequate supply of competent teachers? Again the outstanding need is to train youth for this public service. They may have to be imported first as young children, and equipped for their life-work in just such schools as the proposed Fairbridge Memorial School. Veterinary service for the improvement of native cattle can give dividends as rich as lessons in soil culture. It offers specially fascinating employment for lovers of animals. Add thereto the openings as engineers, ranch managers, tobacco growers, railways employees, and highly paid police, and it will be seen that Rhodesia offers much inducement to those who have enterprise and patience to learn. What boy in an English Secondary School would not leap for the chance of earning 600*l.* a year as an engine-driver? Yet that, too, is open to him. He must serve his apprenticeship to climate and occupation. This it is the interest as also the intention of authority in Rhodesia to give him in fullest measure.

For the circle has turned full wheel since the day when Anthony Trollope could speak of the Cape Native as 'This Savage! This something more but very little more than a monkey. One is tempted to say that nothing is done by religion, and very little by philanthropy. But love of money works very fast.' This view was confirmed by the earlier Rhodes—'We have to treat natives in a different way to ourselves. We are to be lords over them. The native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise. We must adopt a system of despotism, such as works so well in India, in our relations with the barbarians of South Africa.' Rhodes lived to develop more humane sympathies; and the sense of trusteeship, which now rules enlightened policy, gives promise of raising the whole status—physical, intellectual, and social—of African natives.

'Fortunate it was that the day of the white man's unlimited power over the black had not come earlier,' says Mr Trevelyan, 'whilst his only idea of a relation with the

aboriginal had been the profits of slavery and the slave trade.' Yet even so that spirit of domination has been too readily evident. It is a constant danger and temptation to the ruling caste and an inexorable breeder of resentment below.

Supremely demoralising to any European, especially if under-bred, is the discovery that all his daily needs and hardest tasks can be taken off his shoulders by a cheaply paid troupe of native servants. The very easiness of living breeds indolence and saps vigour. The sense of superiority fosters arrogance in master, as it engenders servility in servant. It is a pitfall to be very carefully watched by those introducing young citizens of a democratic upbringing to conditions which smack of the seventeenth century. For always side by side are two contrasted schools of thought. One put forward most strongly by Christian Missionaries—the 'man and a brother' doctrine, claims equality for all, whatever the colour, whatever the stage of development. As a protest against all implied in the word slavery this is justified. When it forgets the need of training through generations before anything like equality in brain-power and morale can be attained it is unscientific and harmful. It antagonises by its disregard of plain fact those who maintain that between white and black a great unbridgeable gulf is fixed: that attempts to lessen this gulf court trouble by flying in the face of Nature's ordinance. Between these two extremes sound statesmanship must find the mean and hold the balance. How modern minded and insistent on the score of public health is the British Medical Association has been already shown.

The salubrious uplands of the high veldt are sunkissed and bracing. Holiday release from them to variant of sea-breeze is needful for Northerners. Is it a white man's country, in which stocks from northern zones can settle and multiply and flourish? Not in the same sense evidently as in Canada or Australasia. Not here, where millions of another breed compete for possession, will Anglo-Saxon stock ever be in sole ownership, free to fashion their world according to liking and tradition. Two nations on the same soil must ever vie for ultimate mastery. The numbers are not on the side of the last comers, and it is a first charge on the minority to elevate

the stupendous majority. Herein lies argument of the 'domination' school against advancement of the native. Let him be kept down lest he learn his strength and oust me! Why should my money be spent in training competitors to undercut my profits? Better paid than most native labourers these men already are. It is a result of the capital and brains we have introduced. Let them with this be content and by no means seek to become our equals or be helped in that aim. Better to segregate them all in appointed reservations where, without losing tribal discipline, they may live in self-contained apartness, untouched by our civilisation.

The clock, however, cannot be put back. Huge wealth drawn from gold and copper mines, from diamonds in Kimberley and ore in Lusaka, has only been possible by labour drawn from the kraals by the lure of high wages. Askharis returned from services overseas have learnt self-confidence, management of men, and mechanical skill in their campaign. They have quite outgrown the horizoned outlook of their Chiefs. They can no longer give obedience to traditions and customs of their youth. Service with the colours has left them well satisfied with their achievements. It may well leave them discontented with any place now waiting for them. Proud as they were of their officers, they cannot feel the same pride in following white civilians to industry. They will be a source of unrest until use can be found for their greatly developed powers. When an heir-apparent saw regiments of their stamp upon the barrack square of Lusaka he likened their march discipline to that of the footguards. Skilled instruction has fashioned them from the unhewn block for a special purpose. Could not the right teachers mould them, in time, to the pursuits of peace? The growth of self-governing elements has in part begun.

Leading men of Southern Rhodesia, when asked, 'Is this a white man's country?' point to their war record. They could despatch 35,000 able-bodied flying men and volunteers to the Allied front. They could claim with justice that this response to an Empire's need argued little loss of virility from climate or circumstance. They and their like must school the vast volume of native manpower, giving it the edge of scientific effectiveness, before wealth from the lodes or food from the soil can be fully

available. And in the doing of it have they not improved living conditions for the workers, while adding to the wealth of the world? Are not their native-born children as intelligent and strong as any in the Empire? The only greatest need is for more white stock to ensure superiority over all others. The immense resources of the country have hardly yet been tapped. Where else in the Empire could the trained white Northerner find such an outlet for his energy?

It was an English Prime Minister who boldly declared that the nation must have a conception of Justice, not as the will of a section, but as something absolute: and it must have a leadership which will lift from mere longing for material benefits to a sense of the high mission of mankind. The words contain timely warning against any willingness to exploit either children or childly races for the sake of wealth or comfort. They will need to be enforced by an informed public opinion alive to ever recurrent dangers. The methods which Cecil Rhodes used for the extension of the Empire did not at the time win applause from all high-minded men. Nor did Robert Clive, a century earlier, escape criticism as to his dealings with native princes in Hindustan. The two sub-Continents, so different in other ways, are in this regard very similar—that they have passed under the tutelage of venturers from overseas who, arriving as traders, have remained as administrators. In each case while reaping no small harvest for themselves they have with far-seeing sincerity bestowed inestimable benefit upon the peoples whom they have defended and taught. The time comes when, if their policy has been soundly based and duly implemented, their pupil can stand on his own feet, freed from tutelage. In their own judgment this hour has struck for India. And that present competence is due to that same principle of trusteeship which Field-Marshal Smuts announces as his policy at the Cape; which Sir Godfrey Huggins puts forward in Southern Rhodesia. Does this mean eventual retreat from responsibilities which we have undertaken, not without advantage to ourselves?

Yet supposing that after generations of selfless tutelage we had raised the African to competency of self-government! 'It is not practically conceivable,' well-informed

judges may say. 'It is outside the limits of imagination. It would be a miracle beyond any dreams of achievement.'

None the less we must have 'a conception of Justice, not as the will of a section but as something absolute.' Our mission is to elevate, not to dominate; to subordinate material aims to mankind's welfare.

There is a witching puzzle of human history in the ruins of Zimbabwe, near Port Victoria in Southern Rhodesia, which points an eloquent moral. Tradition holds that the Queen of Sheba, 2,000 years B.C., here held court, worked vast slave gangs in the mines and traded through Sofala with Palestine. Solomon was visited 'with a very great company, camels that bare spices and gold in abundance. Every three years came the ships of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks.' The baboons still gambol on the kloofs near the Sabi river; that ivory may well be the rhinoceros tusks still deemed of great medicinal value in the East. Those 'peacocks'—or other royal birds—are still displayed in profusion, over morticed uncemented walls and galleries, solid as the Pyramids, deathless as Stonehenge. Here was a metropolis most like to Carthage, with its many citadels for storage of gold, its phallic symbols, and its death-dealing slave labour. Not until 1868 was it rediscovered in its dense overgrowth by an American hunter. Not until 1890 did a European pioneer column make its way to take the place of an Empire whose every vestige is lost save these undying architectural triumphs.

'Into the darkness whence they came
They passed, their country knoweth none:
They and their gods without a name
Partake the same oblivion.

'Their work they did, their work is done
Whose gold it may be shone like fire,
Above the brows of Solomon
And in the house of God's desire.'

By what weakness that rich Empire fell to pieces history does not reveal. But inordinate lust for gold and inhuman sacrifice of slave life would win inevitable reward.

Against this sphinx-like portent from the past there stands fronting Victoria Falls of the Zambesi the statue of a man. It is that of the greatest benefactor of South

Africa, the inspirer of all that is noblest and sanest for the uplift of those countless millions. He fronts the long dark frothing menace, which in its roaring, foaming, boiling torrent somehow symbolises Africa's dread tale of butchery and devilry and shame. The mighty length of Zambesi seems here to attain a climax of thunderous fall into abyssmal chasms, beyond description awesome and sublime, as though it marked the onrush, ever southward, of Bantu, Berber, Mashona, Matabele, Kaffir, Hottentot—the tongues and tribes in their myriads, an avalanche of humanity, hasting to internecine destruction. While he the square-shod stalwart figure stands, now as through life, for that regenerating uplifting force whose mission it is to stem that tide by all the arts of peace.

No small attention will be centred during the coming years on Rhodesia's bold bid for pre-eminence in methods of settlement; in daring greatly to be generous. And her example will have resounding repercussions beyond her own continent, for she will have learned something from Zimbabwe and Victoria Falls.

ARTHUR G. B. WEST.

Art. 8.—THE NATIONAL TRUST.

'THE National Trust' by various contributors with an introduction by Dr G. M. Trevelyan and published by Messrs Batsford is a well deserved and ably written tribute to a most notable institution, which, beginning in a very humble way in 1895, has by its first Jubilee year reached a position of eminence and public esteem which is proof of its successful past energy and guarantee of its future beneficent activities. The book is really a cross-section of our whole history and geography, for all buildings taken over by the Trust must have some genuine claim to history and all kinds of scenery, soil, and natural growth are among its landed properties. The different chapters show the comprehensiveness of the whole: National Trust and National Parks by Ivor Brown; Country and Coast by Harry Batsford; Ancient Sites by Graham Clark; Mediæval Buildings by J. H.

Harvey ; the Manor House by G. M. Young ; the Country House by James Lees-Milne ; Country Buildings by Basil Oliver ; Town Buildings by John Summerson ; Historic Shrines by John Russell ; and Nature Reserves by Sir William Beach Thomas.

Mr Batsford was asked not long ago by an American friend whether our countryside was getting badly spoilt by enemy action. 'It is beyond the power of the Germans,' he replied, 'to spoil the countryside by anything short of trampling over it by invasion. Besides, the English are spoiling the country very effectively themselves and need no enemy help.' This is a hard saying but fully justified. Every year in peace time as the result of lack of planning, of bad taste, greed of 'developers,' and carelessness or indifference of local authorities, and in war time owing to the need of factories, aerodromes, training grounds, and similar beauty-destroying war activities the sad process of spoliation has gone on steadily. It is not a matter of politics, for all parties are agreed that it should be controlled. It certainly should not be a matter of ignorance, for the baleful disease is there for all to see and its dangers and threats have been written about fully and pungently for all to read.

The National Trust is valiantly carrying on the struggle against these evils as far as its limited resources permit. If it were ten times its present size there still would be much left to do. That the Trust may some day reach these proportions is our fervent hope, and that it may by its activities set the example to other associations, individuals, companies, or local authorities to do their part in saving the country is the end we all should desire.

It is the aim of the Trust to acquire and protect, wherever it sees the opportunity, those parts of the fabric of our towns which have some value apart from their use as living space, those parts of the countryside, moorland, and coast which are most typical of the beauties of our island and are all too often, because of these very beauties, condemned to destruction by the greed and wilful blindness of man, and those houses, great or small, in which our history, our architectural development, our sense of art, and our social habits of the past are embedded.

Mr Lees-Milne well writes : ' If this chapter provides
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a glimpse into a fraction of our historic country houses, how are we to envisage their future in the brave new world ahead of us? Few apparently will remain private family residences for long. In the meantime the National Trust has endeavoured to effect a compromise in the case of those houses where the donors' families still reside. For the most part they now reside only in a part of the building, the rest being treated as showrooms, or, if in the whole house, the chief rooms are open to the public at stated times. There is much speculation about adult colleges, rest centres, and public institutions using these houses. Such a solution the Trust welcomes and encourages in spite of the multifarious complications involved. For it must be borne in mind that the Trust's primary responsibility is to preserve the fabric of the historic houses under its guardianship, their gardens and grounds, their rich interior decorations and their valuable contents, and above all their character unimpaired.'

To have progressed in fifty years from the possession of a few odd acres to over 110,000, with another 40,000 protected from building, is no mean achievement, but it is grim to consider how many more acres have been ruined during that time by bad development, because there was no agency like the Trust able to save them. England has a glorious heritage of fine old country houses, and, thanks to our fortunate escape from seriously destructive internal war since the Middle Ages or invasion, these have been spared to a degree unknown in Continental countries, but modern taxation is doing what ancient war did not do. Many families have struggled to keep their family homes still in proper order but for many others the struggle has been too much. How sadly poorer the country will be if these splendid places fall into decay, if their gardens lie uncultivated, if the fields and woodlands and coastal scenery are covered with a rash of raw bungalows, if our downland and cliffs and riversides are spattered with shacks and other hideous make-shift dwellings. We can all think of places where this desecration has already taken place and we dread lest others that we know and love may be similarly treated.

It must of course be admitted that we are a densely populated country and that it would be altogether wrong if thousands were kept in unhealthy congestion in the

towns because land outside has been denied to them for building decent homes. But to supply homes does not necessitate the unsightly sprawl of which the surroundings of London are the worst example. The recent Plan for Greater London has shown what might be done if proper control, good judgment, and sufficient capital were available.

Mr D. M. Matheson, Secretary of the Trust, in his survey of its history and work, writes : ' There were forces at work by which the National Trust was ultimately to be brought into being. The Romantic Movement had drawn attention to the beauties of uncultivated nature. And John Ruskin, John Stuart Mill, T. H. Huxley, William Morris, and others finally helped to bring into being the Commons Preservation Society (1865) and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877). The Commons Society served to rouse a strong public feeling against the further enclosure of commons by its vigorous defence of Hampstead Heath, of Berkhamsted, Plumstead, Tooting, Wandsworth, and Wimbledon Commons and of Epping and Ashdown Forests. . . . Cases arose in which land or an old building could be " saved " if it could be put into safe hands for the future, and three remarkable people determined to found a Trust for that purpose. They were Octavia Hill whose housing work had led her to a vivid appreciation of the value of such places as Parliament Hill Fields to the urban working classes, Sir Robert Hunter who as solicitor had been closely concerned with the Commons Preservation Society since 1868, and Canon Rawnsley, then Vicar of Wray in Westmorland.'

Hence the incorporation of the Trust in 1895 and the beginning of its steady and ever quickening progress under the presidency firstly of the Duke of Westminster, and after 1902 of H.R.H. Princess Louise till her death, and since then of H.M. Queen Mary. When so many have worked so well and so faithfully for the Trust it is perhaps invidious to mention special names but two chairmen cannot be omitted, namely the late John Bailey (a valued contributor to and at one time temporary editor of 'The Quarterly Review') till his death in 1931, and his successor Lord Zetland.

Fortunate in its founders and in those who have

carried on their work, the Trust stands to-day well established and with fine achievements to its credit and with hope of still greater achievements in the years to come. It is happy in its name for indeed the care of such historic buildings and such fine and varied country is a great responsibility and one the appeal of which should be nation-wide.

Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself has said
This is my own, my native land

Doubly dying shall go down
To the vile earth from which he sprung
Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.

So wrote Sir Walter Scott in another context but we may all take the words to heart when considering how man has beautified and how he has ravished this country.

The National Trust already has on its roll of ownership or protection a list of famous places such as the largest landowner in feudal days of vast estates might well have envied: Blickling and Bramshill, Cliveden, Lacock, and Montacute, lesser but still notable houses like Polesden Lacey, Hatchlands, or Stoneacre, famous ruins like Tattershall or Bodiam, famous parks like Clumber and glorious open hill and dale as the Lakeland or the Acland estates in Devonshire. And as the years pass may the list ever grow, to preserve what is best in our land if or when private owners can no longer do it, and to show to future generations Britain unspoiled and undefiled.

JOHN MURRAY.

Art. 9.—SOME RECENT FRENCH PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Chute et Relèvement de la France.* By Joseph Calmette. Hachette.
2. *Connaissance de Peguy.* By Jean de la Porte. Plon.
3. *A l'Echelle Humainé.* By Léon Blum. Gallimard.
4. *Refaire la France.* By Jacquier Bruère. Plon.
5. *Carnet de Voyage.* By Pierre Bourdon. Editions Pierre Tremois.

It is significant that a majority of the books published, or reprinted, in Paris since the liberation emphasise those essentially French characteristics of realism, hope, and incandescent energy which have been at the roots of France's resurgence after every disaster which has befallen her since the fifteenth century. Reading through half a dozen of them drawn from writers representing widely differing backgrounds and holding divergent views, it is impossible not to be struck by a similarity of texture arising from certain basically French characteristics common to all of them. Each faces the qualities and weaknesses of France with unreserved candour and turns with anger upon those elements responsible, in the writer's judgment, for weakening the fibre of the nation. All are informed by a passionate patriotism, and those who deal with the future express a complete certainty of France's resurgence and show a vital faith in world developments which makes the contemporary literature of other countries appear tentative or cynical. As well as looking forward, the French have also looked back to the splendid periods of their national history. Particularly moving, owing to its parallel with modern times, is Joseph Calmette's '*Chute et Relèvement de la France*.' It gives a vivid description of the misery which overwhelmed France in the time of Charles VI and of her miraculous recovery in the following reign. The first chapters with their intricate details of Court factions, jealousies, and feuds move cumbrously, but achieve their object of delineating a country worn out by internal quarrels and deprived of convinced leadership at the very moment in which the enemy's tentacles are spreading remorselessly across the land. The description is made all the more telling by the use of all too familiar phrases: 'the occupied and the free zones,' 'tortures and reprisals inflicted against the families of the partisans,' 'the Black Market,' which, in similar circumstances, flourished then as now. A singularly modern figure is that of the Duc de Bourgoyne, who though in fact a very 'tough guy' indeed succeeds in presenting himself as a liberal-minded gentleman, thus enabling him to form a revolutionary party in which intellectuals and butchers unite to make war upon the governing group. The English attack upon France is ascribed by Calmette not to some legal quibble

over the application of the Salic law, but to an outright bid for the hegemony of Western Europe; whilst the weakness which had sapped French vitality is attributed primarily to a loss of faith by the governing class. The time of Joan of Arc's emergence marked the depths of the French tragedy, for hope had tried in vain to centre round a Dauphin, rejected by his mother and doubting his own legitimacy. But from the instant that Joan's inspired courage lit the flame of faith in the young man's heart, the issue was never really in doubt and in the fire which, a little later, consumed his astonishing saviour the spirit of all France was rekindled. Before such conviction material obstacles collapsed and the proposal of 'the dual crown' which for a while had appeared to some of the possessing classes as a not impossible solution to an unbearable situation, was now revealed as the extinction of the Nation and rejected even by former collaborators.

Six centuries separate the France of Charles VI from that of Peguy, a study of whose works and philosophy by Jean de la Porte has recently been published under the title 'Connaissance de Peguy.' In the interval life has become infinitely more complex; the French ruling class is drawn from different roots, superficially there are wide divergencies, but no one reading these two books can fail to be impressed both by the similarity of the problems which overshadowed both these periods and by the endurance during six centuries of certain French characteristics.

Peguy himself was amongst those most acutely aware of the parallel and to some extent it was his conscious endeavour to reinterpret in terms of the twentieth century the message of Joan of Arc.

Deeply impregnated in classical learning he saw in Greece and in France the torch-bearers of civilisation, and felt it was his part to re-awaken his countrymen to a sense of their mission. He was profoundly proud of his race. 'The only people who can make revolutions and yet remain traditionalist; who when beaten are never down and out and as victors are never insolent.' Yet whilst he rejoiced in these French qualities, he thundered against those dangers which he considered to be sapping the vitality of the nation. A socialist from

early youth and later an ardent Christian, whom Faguet was to describe as the Pascal of Socialism, Peguy detested the social system established by the bourgeoisie of the Third Republic. He considered that it was characterised by a mean prudence of old age, together with a monstrous over-valuation of the position of money; one result of which was that work was considered as a negotiable commodity, in a sense in which neither the classic nor the Christian world had considered it negotiable. He clearly saw the worship of the State as an advancing peril and predicted the advent of a day when the governing clique would explain to the people that real freedom consisted in *not* being free. His dislike of the moneyed bourgeoisie was mild, however, by comparison with his feeling against the intellectual bourgeoisie whom he accused of turning laicism into a metaphysical system and of being obsessed by the fear of not appearing to be sufficiently progressive. 'No enemies to the Left' was one of their parrot cries.

Moreover, he foresaw that this progressive pose was in fact acting in some sense as a boomerang. Parliament was becoming increasingly separated from the people and a dangerous 'little Father' mentality was developing surreptitiously, which could only breed tyranny.

Peguy saw the future in apocalyptic terms and asked insistently whether it might not be that humanity was about to witness 'the de-creation of the world.' Dying thirty years before the advent of the atomic bomb, he was haunted by a vision of the atomisation of society.

Where once there was 'a people' there now were 'classes'; where once there had been a strong executive, there were now parties, and groups within parties, and sections within groups, and whilst this insidious process of disintegration attacked the French nation, the world was being flooded with barbarism. He painted a gloomy picture, but faced the facts without fear, for he was filled with hope, rejecting the theory of determinism as completely as he rejected that of inevitable progress. On the subject of progress he had much to say; in the first place, he considered that to compare metaphysical with technical progress was an absurdity since Truth was absolute; in the second, he believed that to preserve culture required unending vigilance. In his generation

the enemy attacking civilisation appeared to him as materialism, a materialism which had become a system of metaphysics in just the same sense that atheism had become a theology. Peguy's realism and his deep respect for the human personality made him demand liberty for the individual to see, think, and react for himself 'in the joyous astonishment of living.' In opposition to this destiny he saw the evil power of money condemning a great majority of the people of France, not to work (which he counted a joy), not to poverty (which he knew and did not fear), but to that degree below poverty which he termed 'misery,' a compound of insecurity, distress, and dependence, which could not fail to undermine human dignity.

Against these dreary enormities Peguy called for a Crusade, convinced that the mass of his countrymen were still virile and that given 'a leader, not a master' they would go forward to enter in that heritage from which avarice, cynicism, and loss of faith, hope, and charity in high places was inexorably expelling them.

When the War of 1914 came, it may have been that Peguy was relieved to come to physical grips with an overt enemy representing in form a cruder, but no more dangerous, that barbarism which he had so consistently defied. He was killed on the eve of the battle of the Marne whilst the war remained one of human personalities and before it had taken on the mode of robots, which he would have detested infinitely.

Between Peguy and Léon Blum there is little difference in generation but very considerable differences of temperament, allegiance, and belief. Of Peguy, whose boisterous intelligence and surging charity held systems in abhorrence and detachment as such suspect, Blum is alleged to have said: 'You are born too early or too late.'

In many ways Blum is one of those detached intellectuals against whom Peguy tilted. Yet, reading 'A l'Echelle Humaine,' written by the former Prime Minister of France, whilst in prison in 1941, the resemblances between the two men stand out as clearly as their differences. At the time at which Blum decided to write for the comfort and encouragement of Frenchmen, all the disasters predicted by Peguy had come true. Not only the external, but also the internal enemy had triumphed

and France lay prostrate before them. At this moment Blum rallies his countrymen under the banner of hope informed by a patriotism akin to that of Peguy. To the latter had fallen the lot of revealing the bankruptcy of the French bourgeoisie at a time at which its condition was not generally recognised; to Blum fell the task of emphasising that the fall of the governing class did not entail the fall of the French as a people or of democracy as a system of government. In analysing the collapse he follows in many places in the footsteps of Peguy, castigating the bourgeoisie for its lack of faith and *élan*, its failure to take risks, its attachment to 'experience,' often of a senile character, and its egocentricity, which led it to equate its own ruin with that of France. To Blum as to Peguy this bourgeoisie is a worn-out class and in his belief it was a consciousness of its advancing infirmity which caused it to make a Faustian pact with Nazism, in the illusory hope of renewing its youth. In his constant attachment to justice, Blum, more carefully than Peguy, avoids sweeping denunciations and he is careful to point out that the French bourgeoisie has an honourable past and attributes its recent failure to its inability to develop the imaginative leadership required to deal with the vast expansion of capitalism, which took place in recent decades. Nor does he lump the bourgeoisie of all countries into a common heap; on the contrary, he recognises that the British bourgeoisie have stood up well to the trials of war and this, he thinks, is due partly to certain religious influences, partly to contacts with and permeation by aristocratic elements, to whom the taking of risks comes more easily. In common with Peguy, Blum also attacks certain French characteristics which are by no means confined to the bourgeoisie; in particular, he reproaches the people for their destructive criticism and the lack of support which they have accorded to their leaders; of the French Press he has many bitter things to say. But his faith in the ultimate soundness of the people of France is as intact as that of Peguy, and he is ready to reply to the inevitable question: Why, if the people are virile and courageous, did they not seize the power, as it fell from the hands of the possessing classes, in the name of Socialism?

Here his reasoning regarding the position of the Socialist Party is particularly interesting. He holds that Socialism had become suspect in France for two reasons. In the first place the equivocal position taken by the Socialist Party since Munich had undermined their prestige, and in the second place the party was compromised by its understanding with Communism. He defends the Popular Front as an expedient which saved France from Revolution, but holds that Stalin by his pact with Hitler betrayed peace and that under his direction the French Communists, at this time, betrayed France. Blum argues that an International Popular Front is the only safeguard of peace, and that real internationalism is always patriotic since the good of each is found most truly in the good of all. But so far Russia had not taken her place in an International Popular Front of this description; on the contrary she was becoming increasingly nationalistic. The Communist parties in the various countries did not therefore represent a true international body; in fact they represented a foreign nationalist party embodied in the parent nation and subject to the directives of a foreign nationalistic Power. Moreover, this anomaly must, in M. Blum's view, remain an unsolved problem until either the various Communist parties cease to take directions from Russia or Russia ceases to be a foreigner in Europe, the latter being the only satisfactory solution. At the time at which Peguy wrote, the impending catastrophe still appeared to be avoidable, his books are therefore principally concerned with warnings regarding the likely consequences of swimming with the tide; Blum, writing thirty years later, is in a position to advocate reconstruction almost from scratch, since so little has been left which is, in his opinion, worth saving except for the elective system and universal suffrage.

His practical plans for reconstruction include a stronger governmental executive, modelled more nearly on the American or Swiss systems; a decentralisation of State machinery, 'progressive and amiable expropriation' and, above all, he pleads for a social as well as a political democracy. In such a democracy natural differences would not be discounted for all work would be held to be noble; but just as the son of a blacksmith may

become Prime Minister, if his talents justified his selection, so he holds that the son of a Prime Minister should become a blacksmith in the natural course of events if he seems best suited to that trade. Ultimately, M. Blum hopes that political and social democracy may be crowned by world democracy; for, to put it at its lowest, democracy in an isolated country cannot exist comfortably beside other regimes with divergent standards. The World Body, which in M. Blum's view should crown universal democracy, should have reserved to it the exclusive use of certain arms and should have its own institutions and permanent administration, so that it does not become over-dependent upon conferences, at which delegates cannot be expected to voice much more than their own nationalistic views. The World Body should have jurisdiction over labour and economic problems and might even impose light taxes for its upkeep.

M. Blum stresses that this institution must be comprehensive; without the adhesion of U.S.A. and Russia it could never hope to function successfully, and even Germany must be co-opted, if necessary by force. M. Blum desires to see the Vatican included as a spiritual power in its Councils, but doubts whether this would be attainable, owing to the impossibility of the Papacy accepting a position of parity with other religions. The socialism preached in 'A l'Echelle Humaine' is not so very far from that of Peguy—it should, according to Blum, stress the recognition of moral and spiritual values and include the virtue of humility. For those to whom socialism remains a bogey the late Prime Minister of France offers the encouraging thought that until the present time its features and activities have been distorted by the passion of battle, but that now that it is about to reign it will develop serenity, tolerance, and dignity.

Whilst Peguy and Blum have been primarily concerned with the moral currents affecting France's decline and resurgence, Jacquier Bruère in 'Refaire la France' is concerned above all with practical problems. The author, whose pseudonym one might suspect covers a well-known personality, faces France's present position with a stark realism. The situation is painted in the blackest hues, but in every case Bruère refuses to be overwhelmed by the disaster and points the way towards

a solution. The book was written under the occupation, but failed to appear owing to the arrest of the printer by the Gestapo. One of the primary causes of France's eclipse Bruère attributes to the decline in the birth rate. And he gives telling figures to support his views. In 1815 the French represented 16 per cent. of the population of Europe (excluding Russia); in 1939 they represented only 5 per cent. In 1850 the death rate for the first time exceeded that of the births; after 1890 this remained a constant feature. Yet M. Bruère refuses to be dismayed and predicts that an internal policy which provided pre-natal clinics and child-welfare services, whilst at the same time tackling the problems of tuberculosis and alcoholism on a wide scale, would do much to readjust the situation. In addition, he advocates State relief for the family man, heavier taxes for celibates, and that each child should represent another vote at its parent's disposal.

Turning to the economic field, the author notes France's deficiencies in coal, petrol, and lignite; but pleads for the development of her great hydro-electric potentialities and urges a rapid increase in technical education. He advocates State control of war industries, hydro-electric energy, and national transport; but hopes that after the reconstruction period private enterprise will be given the maximum liberty compatible with State control of these industries and also, of course, of tariffs, fiscal and monetary policy, and of the laws protecting workers and the conditions of work.

As regards agriculture, he urges organisation on a cooperative system; rejecting with equal vehemence all tendencies towards collectivisation or the corporative State.

Diagnosing the social evils from which France is now suffering, Bruère, like Peguy and Blum, criticises the bourgeoisie for its love of the past, unaccompanied by confidence in the future, and its determination to hold on to its administrative posts at all costs, but essentially at the price of maintaining a *status quo*, which these elements are apt to equate with patriotism. The peasantry he holds to be conservative, but not essentially averse to revolution of the type envisaged by Peguy. The proletariat he describes as underpaid, badly housed,

deprived of security, and in general drawing no benefit from the advance of a civilisation which it is therefore likely to jettison.

An over-all statement of the situation, as he sees it, might be summed up as follows : the bourgeoisie have the capital, the peasants have the land, the proletariat have nothing. Such a situation must necessarily breed revolution and already the French are looking for a convenient model : some to the France of the nineteenth century and some towards Russia. According to M. Brière, the solution lies in the necessity for France to become socialist (in a rather liberal interpretation of the term). The workers must have a share in running their works and become shareholders ; they must be able, factually as well as legally, to acquire property and to transmit it, monopolies and privileges must go and equality of opportunity must prevail.

In a variety of Youth Movements the classes must mingle at their most impressionable age.

Writing on the subject of French culture, the author remarks acidly that foreigners now come to visit the monuments of past French culture, but no longer to make contact with an existing focus of intellectual life. In the field of education, he sees hope in the better relations which have developed between Church and University authorities in course of joint resistance, but criticises the existing tendency to ignore political economy as a University subject. The present state of the organs of publicity (Press, Radio, and Cinema) give him grave concern. He demands that the Press should remain free, but that the names of the owners and the accounts of the papers should be published, and that articles should be signed and sources stated. The constitution of the B.B.C. should, in his opinion, serve as a model for the French Radio service ; whilst the Cinema industry should be subsidised, but not subject to control. In Metropolitan France, as in the Empire, the Lay State, the Independent Church, and the Liberty of the subject must be reconciled. Finally, M. Bruère has much which is of interest to say about the Empire. Here the problems are different from those of metropolitan territory, since the population is expanding.

In regard to political relations between the Motherland

and the Colonies the author pays his country a rare but deserved compliment, going so far as to admit that the regulation of satisfactory degrees of freedom has been rather well handled. He complains, however, that the industrial development of the Colonies has been stifled in favour of the industries of metropolitan France and, whilst rejecting imperial autarchy, as tantamount to suicide, he pleads for a balance between the integration of the Colonies within the Empire and the expansion of their individual relations with the outside world. He urges a more careful selection of Colonial Governors and of their staffs and suggests that, with this safeguard, they should be given increased powers—in order to avoid a situation in which the initiative of the man on the spot is being perpetually strangled by bureaucracy.

In order to implement this comprehensive scheme of reconstruction considerable alterations in the constitution of France's internal regime would be required, and these Bruère discusses in the second half of his book. The President, for instance, should be elected by a special body composed of certain members of Parliament, representatives of the Trades Unions, Consuls General, Municipal Authorities, and some delegates from the Universities and the Judiciary. After twelve years of office he should leave public life for ever, on an adequate pension. The Conseil d'Etat should be composed not only of outstanding M.P.'s, but should also co-opt the services of eminent professors and business men.

Parliament should only be allowed one annual motion of No Confidence, and in debates the Government alone should have the right to put such a motion.

He agrees to the maintenance of two Chambers, but suggests that only two sessions should be held annually, each lasting two to three months.

The President should have the power to dissolve the Chambers.

The duties of Parliament he considers to relate primarily to matters connected with the Budget, legislation concerning individual liberty, the Press, election reforms, war, peace treaties, etc., and recurrent votes of confidence.

By reserving other matters more particularly to the Cabinet he hopes that it may be possible to avoid

the constant changes of administration which have in the past been so detrimental to any continuity of French policy.

No doubt M. Bruère's work will meet with differing degrees of acceptance, but it will surely leave most readers with the same sense of self-criticism, energy, idealism, and patriotism which have inspired both Peguy and Blum.

In concluding this article I should like to draw attention to a small book, 'Carnet de Voyage,' written by a member of the Leclerc Division, whose arduous return from Lake Tchad to Lorraine will remain one of the most moving stories of the war. The writer was only associated with the last lap of the journey, but he describes very vividly the feelings of three exiled Frenchmen encamped near Dover and divided from France not so much by a few miles as by four years. When at last the landing came, they were naturally keyed up to a high pitch of emotion, oddly discounted by their first meeting with a metropolitan Frenchman; he was a taciturn peasant who merely remarked: 'Oh, you are French, are you? One sees all kinds these days. Still, I suppose it can't be bad to be back in France, but you can't complain, war's like that.' It was not long, however, before the exiles met with more expansive hospitality.

A few days later the author, to his exasperation, was taken prisoner. Already the Germans knew that they were beaten and he had many curious conversations with his guards, who wanted in particular to hear about the effects of the V1's on London; spoke with horror of their experiences on the Eastern Front, and, with an eye to the future, were anxious to hear how German prisoners of war were faring in England. The Frenchmen were daily expecting to be released by their comrades, when, to their great disappointment, their captors took the precaution of moving them south. The journey was one of brutal discomfort, relieved by the sympathy and encouragement of the French railway staff and punctuated by an abortive attempt at rescue by the Maquis. Eventually the author and several of his friends effected an ingenious escape and one of the most delightful chapters of the book describes the hospitality given them at great risk by a French farmer's family, who ultimately assisted them to rejoin their division.

When they met their comrades the race for Paris already had begun, and in a few days the astonishing entry, in which acclamations and volleys of machine-gun fire succeeded each other indiscriminately, took place.

But the liberation of the capital was not the final aim to which the Leclerc Division had dedicated itself. For in 1941, in the Tchad, these soldiers had sworn not to lay down their arms till the Tricolor flew again over Strasburg Cathedral. So, accompanied by many of the Resistance boys who had greeted them so vociferously in Paris, the division set forth again. As it fell out, the last part of the campaign was extremely gruelling, consisting as it did of ambushes and patrols, costing many irreplaceable individual losses, and representing a static form of warfare which was particularly hateful to swift-moving armoured troops. Yet their gay endurance prevailed and the last yard of French soil was cleaned of the enemy. Four years earlier this hope had seemed almost unattainable. In closing the last book of this collection, it is impossible not to feel that despite many disasters, some treachery, and some weakness, the glory of France has been sustained by this generation in action and also in thought.

MARJORIE VILLIERS.

Art. 10.—THE COURSE OF CONSERVATIVE POLITICS.

THE Conservative Party has suffered a spectacular defeat. The majority of electors have lost faith in it. It does not represent their interests. It does not satisfy their need. It is not a vehicle for their ambitions. So much is plain. The parliamentary and municipal elections have set a stamp upon a document of dissociation of party and people that has been long in the writing.

Separated friends resume their intimacy after mutual effort and upon common lines of approach. It is not enough that one should remain rigid and the other move. Such action and inaction engender suspicion on both sides with the result that the breach is never healed. It is a mistake to say that Conservatives in opposition

have only to play a waiting game for the electorate in due course to swing back in their direction and place them again in office. A free pendulum never reaches its former mark. Again it is a mistake to imagine that the party to achieve success must go all the way to meet the electorate for, if so, it will find itself on Socialist ground and become despised and rejected for deserting its principles. To pursue either policy would result in failure.

A difficulty underlies any treatment of Conservative principles. Conservatism is a faith, a way of life, and an attitude of mind. It is not a body of doctrinal ideas, nor a call to mass activity. The Collectivist systems are capable of easy explanation to political audiences at elections because they deal with affinities between individuals in the mass and aim at integration and centralisation. The current programme secures ready allegiance because in its idealism it sweeps aside the lesson of past controversy which teaches the impracticability of many present hopes. It is always pleasing to a crowd to learn that the numbers are becoming larger, the individuals more closely related to each other and the destination of all a brave new world.

Conservatism on the other hand aims at decentralisation. Its desire is to disperse the crowd. It rejoices in the differences between man and his neighbour, and praises variety, independence, and distinction. It makes its appeal not to a concourse of citizens, but to the individual in home and family and, through a widening circle of friends, business and philanthropic interests, to the nation itself. The articulation of Conservatism runs so wide and deep into the national life that the whole is not susceptible of treatment before any single political audience. Instruction cannot be attempted at an election nor even in the period between elections. Many lessons in Conservatism take a lifetime to learn. That is one reason why, in the main, the young are not attracted to our party.

Conservatism in the long run gains from its sense of history, but at elections it is exposed to ridicule by pamphleteers who mistake caution for reaction, prudence for obstinacy, and wariness for cynicism. Conservatives believe that while the nature of man changes over the

centuries indeed, the Socialist will not discover any appreciable advance when he awakens from his dreams.

These are some of the difficulties of exposition. At any given moment of time the case for Conservatism is harder to put over to the elector than the case for Socialism. That fact leads many to think that in a mass democracy the party is doomed to extinction. Professor Laski thinks that the *coup de grâce* can be given in the next five years. But the truth is that if there was no Conservative Party it would be necessary to invent one. Socialism leaves unsatisfied many of the strongest instincts in man. A society without individualism cannot survive, and as it is the fibre of Conservatism is twisted into the organic development of English life. By contrast the conception of a Planned Socialist State is a brittle thing, as the crowd is fickle which in a moment endorses the idea, soon to reassemble to repudiate it and demand the restoration of the liberties it has surrendered.

It is perhaps appropriate to pursue the investigation within the setting of the three famous principles of Conservatism which form the Disraelian Trilogy:

I. THE MAINTENANCE OF OUR INSTITUTIONS.

'The English,' said Disraeli, 'do not like coalitions,' and the electorate at a grave moment in the history of the world have endorsed his view and dispensed with a notable and successful all-party Government. It is arguable that the people were not given the opportunity of maintaining the coalition and that large numbers of them would prefer a politically neutral Government even now. What is certain is that in the present state of world confusion party government which neglects immediate facts for the pursuit of theory and doctrine cannot survive. Our highly complex social and economic life has a tempo and momentum of its own. It will not stand the super-imposition of a frenzied ideology either of the Left or the Right. The lesson for Conservatism here is that instinctive reaction from the philosophy of the Left must not carry it so far down the alternative road that official party policy is seen by the people to have as little practical application as that of the Socialist Government of the day. The problem is so to place the core of Con-

servative politics that it will be seen to be not only practical and closely related to the business of living, but also indicative of a strong lead away from the oppressive collectivist trends of the time. The apathy of the electorate between the wars was in part due to the belief that *plus le Gouvernement change plus c'est la même chose*.

'When it is not necessary to change, it is necessary not to change,' said Lord Falkland. The English people at the present time will not look at this proposition. They wish to reshape society and they ask that Government shall devise the means in double quick time and stamp a new pattern on events. The memory of three million unemployed and of narrow victory in war charge the public consciousness with zeal to escape from the past into a new era of social and economic progress. Conservatism is temporarily unfashionable and there is a demand everywhere for a change in the name.

But the demand must be resisted. Professor Gilbert Murray is not scoring a point for the Whigs when he pleads that the Conservative Party should retain a name that is almost universally execrated. He is consulting history and performing a national service. The progress of nations is an affair of seasons. In due time it will be thought that the high summer of flowering Socialism is exhausting the body politic as surely as it is now believed that the winter of Conservative discontent has deadened it. When that time comes Reaction will take over the virtues of Respite, and Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform will become safe harbours against tempestuous change. Conservatism will mean, again, as in Croker's day, conservation, preservation—both devoutly to be wished. Lord Falkland will come into his own. In anticipation of these days it is the Party's duty to sharpen the instruments of deceleration that lie at hand in our institutions and to equip itself to withstand the headlong driving power of State Socialism.

The power of the Executive is bordering upon absolutism and ought to be diminished. The liberty of the subject does not reside in its care. It was the National Socialists in Germany who argued that it did and the people believed them as did the French of revolutionary France and the English of the Protectorate. The path to freedom lies through the fullest employment of our

checking and balancing institutions, namely, the Houses of Parliament and, we may add to-day, the Press and the B.B.C.

In Victorian and Edwardian England the Conservatives and Liberals took their opposing stands respectively upon Order and Reform. Both parties, however, made the terrible mistake of neglecting the needs of the rising masses in that period of technological advance and change. To satisfy the demand for recognition of their rights, Organised Labour thrust itself up between the well-worn strata like a gigantic geological fault. With Marxism as a secular religious superstructure Organised Labour has taken Order from the Conservatives and metamorphosed it into compulsory State planning over the entire economy. It has taken Reform from the Liberals and metamorphosed it into State guarantees to the individual throughout the whole course of life. But there is still left the advocacy of Freedom, the most powerful weapon known in politics. It is the duty of the traditional parties to share that weapon and if it brings them into closer alignment through a National Union nothing but good can result.

Our first joint task is to throw the weight of our counsel into the maintenance and reform of our institutions. The freedom of the Press is still intact, though, at the moment of writing, the policy of its major organs is not directed towards individual liberty. The monopoly of the B.B.C. must be closely watched: the renewal of its charter next year will present many opportunities. The procedure of the House of Commons is now under review by a Select Committee, of which the writer is a member, which precludes the discussion here of reforms under this heading. It may, however, be said that reforms will be vain which do not achieve the result of drawing into the net of parliamentary survey the mass of legislation now flowing unchecked from the departments into homes, shops, and offices.

The composition, duties, and procedure of the House of Lords cause misunderstanding in the country and, to some, offence. It is again time that Conservatives gave their attention to the great question of House of Lords reform. The principle of heredity must be maintained otherwise the stone underneath the Throne itself is

removed. But there should be superimposed two other principles: that of election and that of Imperial representation. There is no space for more than a brief reference of the changes which the writer would like to see.

Of the membership of the House of Lords at any time, one section should consist of formerly created Hereditary Peers, of the United Kingdom, England, Scotland, and Ireland, elected for life by respective 'colleges' of all the Hereditary Peers. A second section should consist of newly created Hereditary Peers of the United Kingdom, sitting for life (industrialists, scientists, artists, and professions), creations since 1920, forming the foundation of this section. A third section should consist (1) of newly created Hereditary Peers of Empire (Dominion, Colonial, and Dependencies); and (2) second and subsequent Peers of Empire elected for life by a 'college' of all such Hereditary Peers, subject to confirmation by letters patent. This section would not have the right to vote on United Kingdom legislation, but would not be debarred from sitting in any other Imperial legislature. United Kingdom, English, Scottish, and Irish Peers not elected should have the right to seek election to the House of Commons.

The object of the creation of Peers of Empire is to provide an assembly and public relations platform for the Imperial Conference of Ministers and the permanent Secretariat. The Dominions would undoubtedly look askance at the proposal unless they were assured that their public men raised to the Peerage on the recommendation of their Governments would spend the greater part of their time in their own countries.

Finally, there is the institution of Democracy itself. Property, said Burke,* 'cannot be made safe from the invasions of ability unless it is out of all proportion predominant in the representation, cannot be protected unless it is present in great masses of accumulation.' At the beginning of this century power took flight from property because property began to be distributed under the influence of an extended franchise. Power then settled for fifty years upon the production of wealth.

* Reflections on the French Revolution.

Now, with the redistribution of wealth, power is again on the wing and seems destined to reside at any rate for a time in the political controllers of the Nation-State. The distribution of property and now of all forms of wealth has destroyed the old sources of power, but has not and never can destroy power itself.

The extension of political and economic democracy—on Burke's analogy for property—is resulting in nothing but loss of power to the people. At no time since the Civil War has the life of the individual been so circumscribed. At no time since Charles I has the executive disposed of forces more compelling and minatory. The Conservative Party will have to abandon some of its instincts for Order and pursue the cause of Liberty if Democracy is to be preserved. We must expose the doctrine of the Left that it is via Socialism that the people come into their own. On the contrary it is abundantly clear that by every application of Socialist method the citizen is removed one stage farther from the source of power, his range of free action further reduced.

The institution of traditional English Democracy is entering the crisis stage of a long illness. The continental malady of Socialism, a malignant disease of one hundred years' growth, is attacking the body politic. A great effort of the national will is required to overcome the poisonous heresies with which Karl Marx has infected the State. The historic parties will have to fight for the life of their country.

II. THE PRESERVATION OF THE EMPIRE.

In the war organised Conservatism has become somewhat divorced from the close and intimate study of Imperial problems that was given by it in a former age. In spite of the efforts of a far-sighted and understanding Colonial Secretary, the written works of men like Lords Hailey, Altrincham, and Elton, and the visits of Parliamentary Committees, the links between the Empire and the Party have become attenuated. War security considerations and the need for despatch in business have resulted in the canalisation of Imperial contacts through the War and Colonial offices. Imperial matter has been

drawn off the floor of the House of Commons through lack of time and the pressing urgency of other problems. Our Imperial visitors rarely find their way to the country except as occasional lecturers to the troops. There is need for establishing a strong link between the Empire and Conservative Associations at home. Something in the nature of a second Joseph Chamberlain campaign is required.

Empire migration is a subject to which the Party should give immediate attention. It is a matter for profound regret that no scheme, however slender, has been superimposed on the arrangements for repatriation and demobilisation. There are thousands of young men from this country who have seen service in this war in Dominion and Colonial territories and who should have been given an opportunity of remustering in our Imperial forces with a view to eventual resettlement overseas. Total war has necessitated the mobilisation of many services ancillary to the fighting arms and in all these the principle of Imperial interchange should have been given prominence. Migration is a stark necessity, the reasons for which will be discussed later in this article.

History has demonstrated and the war has proved that unity of Imperial purpose is an established fact, but there is not yet behind the United Nations organisation the same history of unity of international purpose. It is natural that the Dominions should look upon the Statute of Westminster as a stepping stone to full participation in the United Nations organisation. The extent to which they rightly regard themselves as fully matured and independent States is forcibly brought home by their recently expressed desire to control the terminals of the communication system. Nevertheless, the role of the mother country should be to keep her family intact and without impinging on their independence to provide opportunities for constant association. If there is a United Nations organisation why should there not be an Imperial organisation? If a U.N.O. secretariat, why not also an Imperial secretariat? We should reflect seriously on the loss to Empire sovereignty and strength which proceeds in the absence of permanent machinery for consultation. Meetings between Dominion Statesmen have been far too infrequent to serve the needs of the times.

Imperial questions were not an issue at the election. The Socialists have discovered the Empire and Conservative thought has not yet run beyond satisfaction in the event to ask what they mean to do with it. A self-sufficient policy excluding the United States has its advocates on both sides of the House. The older school of Conservative high tariff men join hands with the young bilateral planners on the opposite side, while the traditional free trade internationalists in the Labour Party, now well represented in the Government, are finding a point of contact with the Right in the expanding imperialism of Mr Churchill and the Tory Reformers. In the writer's opinion the magnet of the United States will prove too strong for the former school, but whichever theme is uppermost there is not now the basis of strife between the parties. We must hope that Imperial Affairs will take its place beside Foreign Affairs within the magic circle of all party concord.

III. THE ELEVATION OF THE CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

The most remarkable fact in our social life is the steady rise in the standard of living of the lower income groups in spite of the impact of two wars and the world economic crisis of 1930. With the exception of housing—purely a war problem—a vast range of the amenities of life has been added to the common experience of the masses. Few men looking back on the lives their fathers lived would deny that present benefits and comforts surpass by far anything that went before. The conditions of the people have been elevated if not to the heights, at any rate well above those valleys which shocked the conscience of men like Oastler, Sadler, and Ashley in the last century.

During the tenure of office of successive Governments of all parties, society has risen to a scale of general living above that of any other country if whole populations and all aspects are taken into account. The velocity of progress has increased to an extraordinary degree of late years as wealth and property have become more widely distributed. People have come to look upon the curve of rising standards as the normal path through life, and

they expect to see it projected into the future in obedience to the same law. Grave indeed would be the social implications of any interruption and therefore it is of very great importance to consider the grounds on which such an interruption may well occur.

The late war was in part brought about by the desire of the German people, a desire inflamed by national leaders, to increase their living space. The many material adjuncts to life which modern science provides served them less as satisfaction of physical need than as a spring-board for increased physical ambition. That physical power corrupts morality applies to individuals no less than to nations. We know that motorists and men in committee are different beings, and we have read that Abyssinians were to Bruno Mussolini in his aeroplane ants for necessary extermination.

All material accessories tend to distort conscience and oppress humanity and the greater the scale of living the more pronounced does the tendency become. To a densely populated island like the United Kingdom, endeavouring to perpetuate the number of its citizens the problem is most real and acute. There are two courses open to statecraft if what the writer sees as an impending crisis before our people is to be averted. The first is migration, and the second is action to reconcile the nation's mind to a reduction in the velocity of consumption. It would seem that solutions must be sought in both fields. Migration, unless conducted with care, will produce undesirable social and political consequences abroad and at home. The fact that large tracts of the Empire are sparsely inhabited is not an argument in the eyes of Dominion Governments for their replenishment with Englishmen. Organised industry at home will put up a fierce resistance to the introduction of low standard workers from overseas. Nevertheless, the consciousness that an iron-bound social economy is the inevitable result of the impact of scientific development on a homogeneous, high standard, static population ought to weigh with Conservatives in pressing that positive aid should be given to our young adventurers to leave these shores and effective inducements offered to a selection from the hapless European peoples to take their place.

All political parties favour industrial expansion and

higher standards of living, but few attempts have been made to assign precise meanings to these objectives. The approach is usually made in terms of production because for centuries the satisfaction of man's needs in his environment has been the problem for solution. Now, however, the agencies of supply have reached such fabulous dimensions that the devastation and want created by war can be filled in a few short years. The standard of living of 1914 was fully restored by 1924. If history is a guide the wants of the present time will be fully met by 1950. The Minister of Health has said that by the end of 1947 everyone will have a home. That is quite possible if housing and other things beside are made 'operations of war.' The problem very soon will be not production, but consumption. Looking ahead five years, and on the basis of Socialist equalitarianism, we have seriously to ask ourselves how far within the limits set by physical environment the products of industrial expansion can be consumed and how far the material standard of living can further be raised. The Conservative Party is much occupied with the politics of production, but scarcely at all with the politics of consumption. Our gaze should be concentrated on man in his environment. One reason for the swing to the Left at the recent elections was the belief that the Socialists are more interested than we in the problems which beset the individual in relation to society. This is undoubtedly true. Nevertheless we are not obliged to imitate the Socialists. There is the Conservative approach in this as in other matters. The Socialist is almost exclusively concerned with raising the material standard of living in the home. There is an opportunity for Conservatives to consider the psychological and social problems which will arise when the home is filled to capacity with every aid to the good life as the writer believes it will be in five, or at the most, ten years.

The politics of glut are infinitely more serious than the politics of scarcity. The clash of private interests which will occur when the confines of property are bursting with the results of man's ambition to consume ought to be the subject of immediate political study. Without the smallest doubt space limitations are going to dictate a violent industrial readjustment. As one example and

to state the problem provocatively, the roads, railways, and holiday establishments in this country cannot withstand the pressure of twenty million highly paid workers seeking relaxation after a forty-hour week.

When the leisure of thousands is employed in production, e.g., invention, musical composition, playwriting, painting, sculpture, the effect is additive. Nothing is more soul-destroying to the would-be artist than non-recognition. There is not the space nor are there the resources to develop, perform, or exhibit the works that shortly will be pouring forth. The problems of leisure will soon rise to the same magnitude as the problems of employment. The objective of unlimited industrial expansion at home must be examined in relation not only to immediate want, but also to rapid overstocking. The objective of a higher standard of living must be examined not so much in terms of material production and consumption, but more in terms of the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge in pure rather than applied form. Some avenues of escape into the higher life of culture must be actively sought if the social dangers attendant upon the conflict of mechanics with geography are to be successfully overcome. There is abundant scope here for investigation by churchmen, psychologists, educational reformers, and members of our party.

We must now turn from the results of production to consider the organisation of production. It is necessary to inquire how far the present divorce between party and people has been brought about by a functional fault in organised industry which Conservatism has allowed to develop. The customer is always right in politics as in business. It is therefore political folly of the first order that the repository of Conservative ambitions should also be the object of the voters' scorn. That is the case with Big Business at the present time.

Big Business is a fact in our everyday life, almost an Estate of the Realm. In dissociating itself from Big Business the party might go far to improve its position with the electorate, but it would leave at the mercy of its opponents an entity of very great significance. A more serious and responsible task confronts us, namely, the transformation of Big Business into a shape that is pleasing to the electoral mind.

The principle of Limited Liability is an offence to the moral conscience of man. How true this is can be seen from a study of those forms and ways of life which exclude that principle and which at the same time evoke man's affection and respect. There is the worker in factory or farm whose output is daily at risk. He stands to gain by health and hard work, to lose by the acts of God and other men. There is the small shopkeeper, whose reward is the department store and whose penalty the bankruptcy court. There is the professional partnership in medicine and law where the profits are pooled and losses are met by unlimited call on private wealth. There are clubs and voluntary societies operating to mutual ends. There are the Co-operative Societies where the ideas of fellowship and help which Robert Owen propagated are still the predominating factor in the eyes of the public despite the limited liability enactment of 1862. There is the State itself which risks the way of life of its citizens in the arbitrament of war and has no insurance against failure.

Private enterprise is under a cloud. But consideration makes it clear that the mistrust of private enterprise is confined to that part of it which is overlaid by the principle of limited liability. Both Lloyds and the Prudential are examples of successful private enterprise in the field of insurance. The film 'Lloyds of London' was a big box-office draw. There has been no demand for a film of the Prudential. On the contrary, during the debates on the Beveridge Report the Prudential was held up to ridicule and contempt.

It is true that the great commercial processes of the last century were built up under the shield of limited liability. More than that it acted as a positive attraction to the wealth of the nation which was beginning to be widely distributed. Perhaps in no other way could industrial power be aggregated in time to maintain our world-wide trading supremacy against competitors. But to-day the consequences are beginning to be felt. The Socialist Government has risen to power out of the social bitterness which that age engendered. In the make-up of the many who have been persuaded to vote Socialist there is an element of positive dislike, echoed from the parliamentary debates on the legislation of 1844 to 1908, for

this characteristically un-British principle of unlimited reward for limited service, a principle which leads directly to absentee ownership, another of the present millstones round Conservative necks. It is time that Toryism shed these Whig garments and explained to the people that the earning of high profits is not an evil provided that the whole personality of man is engaged and that reputation and career are risked.

The tradition of England has not been built up on limited liability. The device was unheard of for one hundred years after the South Sea Bubble, and would probably not have been introduced even then had private and State insurance been available. It was largely to offset the effects of penury as the result of gambling in the shares of bogus companies that the laws were passed. Now, however, legitimate insurance has developed to such a point that it is safe to repeal the Limited Liability Acts and return to the principle of the Common Law Trading Companies. The immediate effect would be to counter the establishment of the Managerial Society, which according to Burnham, is the inevitable and depressing result of the clash between capitalism and socialism, by putting the ordinary shareholder, who is rapidly becoming a nonentity, back in control of the business. A man whose whole fortune comes on risk has to choose between two courses. Either to safeguard his way of life by concentrating on the business or else to sell his profit-making asset and lend his money at simple interest but without right of control. It should be perfectly proper for an individual to be entrepreneur in one concern and rentier in another. The evil arises when he is both things at once in a wide variety of concerns. The people of this country have declared in unmistakable terms against such individuals by generalising their complaint into an attack upon the City of London and upon the limited companies, public and private, which centre there, while maintaining their respect for private enterprise in every other field. It is significant that opprobrium attaches to the Stock Exchange not because of its risk-taking activities (dear to the public in other forms, e.g. horse racing), but because of its intimate association with the joint stock limited company. It is not enough for Conservatives to proclaim what is undoubtedly true that the City has served and

is serving a great national purpose. It is necessary to remedy a serious defect of organisation which has deleterious political results. By comparison the Cohen Report on the Reform of Company Law only tinkers with the problem.

Public disillusionment with the Conservative Party is occasioned by the Party's unwillingness to reform in any profound sense at all. The nation shapes itself for war and peace, international society devises new forms of Government, the Socialists pass sweeping legislation. The Conservatives alone have no proposals to capture the public imagination—none whatever. Release from office presents a magnificent opportunity for us to shake ourselves clear of sloth and apathy and to prepare an ambitious programme of Conservative measures for the next election. We must strike wide and deep, prepare our actions in great detail, and draw enthusiasm from the people. We must match their present temper by throwing up tough and resolute leaders who are passionately sincere in their attachment to party and country.

The narrowness of Britain's victory in this war must rouse the country to a high sense of purpose and duty. We came to Europe and the world to save and must remain to help and guide. We have to consolidate our victory and build upon the respect and understanding which we have won abroad. That cannot be done if now under Socialism English life is changed into a form which is unrecognisable to our friends overseas. We have risen

‘To station to command . . .
By open means
And now must stand
On honourable terms, or else retire.’

The only honourable terms are those which proceed from deep sympathy between party and people. Conservatism from time immemorial has been woven into the royal cloth of England. For hundreds of years that cloth has been in high demand all over the world. Constitutional Government, democracy, respect for the individual, simple honesty and fair play, an uprising spirit of adventure, these and a hundred other stars are embroidered on its surface. We must not ignore the advice of our salesmen and representatives overseas, and out of the spite

and slight regard of fools at home permit the destruction of that glorious design. Conservatives must make a tremendous bid to join hands again with the people. We must restate our faith in modern terms. In that alone lie the opportunity of further service and the hope of power.

HINCHINGBROOKE.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

East is West. Freya Stark.

A Forgotten Genius: Sewall of St Columba's and Radley. Lionel James.

Springs of Hellas and other Essays. T. R. Glover.

Spain Everlasting. S. F. A. Coles.
Rebuilding Family Life in the Post-War World. Edited by Sir James Marohant.

British Painting from Hogarth's Day to Ours. William Gaunt.

French Painting. T. W. Earp.

Problems of the Countryside. Dr C. S. Orwin.

The Economic History of India, 1600-1800. Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee.

The Lyrical Woodlands. Lady Margaret Sackville.

The Royal Family in Wartime.

Prospects of the Industrial Areas of Great Britain. M. P. Fogarty.

IF literature can be defined as the art of writing something which will be read twice, then Freya Stark's 'East is West' (John Murray) is literature. Her books of Arabian travel show Miss Stark to be a fearless traveller in mind as well as body and her mastery of the art of writing makes her a wise and stimulating guide on these double journeys. Paper permitting, this book should introduce a very exceptional traveller and writer to an increasing public. Its subject, or pattern, is topical; it deals with the Middle East in general and the Arabs in particular, during the war years when Miss Stark worked for the Ministry of Information in Aden, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq, Palestine and Syria. It covers political and military events and includes a first-hand account of the siege and relief of Baghdad; it gives a moving account of the beginnings and the success of the 'Brothers of Freedom,' for which Miss Stark was largely responsible, and through which so many Arabs gave proof of their faith in the Allies during the dark days and showed their belief in ideas of democracy. But it is the texture of the book that makes

it literature as well as admirable 'reporting.' With a shrewd eye Miss Stark sees the deeper problems—the human aspect of politics, the impact of East and West, the development and the future of the *effendi*, the emancipation of Arab women and the different interpretations—and implications—of such concepts as Liberty, Democracy, Equality between the Arab and the Western worlds. Miss Stark writes of these things with a simplicity based on experience and with a sense of values that can still distinguish black from white, and makes it possible to feel that wisdom can still be found—even in these hurrying days.

Mr Lionel James, in his book 'A Forgotten Genius: Sewell of St Columba's and Radley' (Faber), has done well to recover from almost total oblivion a very remarkable personality. William Sewell was one of twelve children of whom eleven lived to grow up and three to be over ninety, while four of the six brothers reached the distinction of record in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' He was a leading figure in the Tractarian Movement in Oxford, always as a moderating influence. He was a founder of St Columba's College in Ireland and of Radley in this country and of the latter he was for some years Warden. He was also for some years a regular and much valued contributor to the 'Quarterly.' His educational schemes were based on the essential features of a Public School on Church principles and the College system in its organisation. He was determined that the school should be as home-like as possible, and that the masters should be like elder brothers to the boys rather than aloof and alarming mentors, and in this Sewell was far ahead of his times. In the school surroundings he wanted everything of the best: pictures, plate, tapestries, furniture, etc., but unfortunately he was not a man of business and the complete financial collapse of Radley was only averted by the great generosity of Mr Hubbard, afterwards Lord Addington. Sewell had to resign the wardenship and the remaining years of his life were spent largely in semi-exile abroad, in failing health. He was a man with high ideals, with many excellent schemes, not always practical, a sound writer, a great talker, and certainly in some ways a pronounced eccentric. Hero-worship evokes sympathy in many minds, but is

inclined to defeat its own ends, and if Mr James had been rather more critical his portrait would have been more convincing. All the same he gives a really interesting study of an unusual and striking character.

'*Springs of Hellas and Other Essays*,' by T. R. Glover (Cambridge University Press) will be welcomed by lovers of the classics. It follows 'The Challenge of the Greek,' published in 1942, and contains nine essays based on the author's wide-ranging knowledge of classical literature and of the byways of social history in ancient times. Cicero, Quintilian, Polybius, Pausanias ('The Prince of Digressors'), Herodotus, Homer, Plutarch, Aristotle, and Xenophon are among the famous of old in these pages. There is also a final and very interesting essay on the mind of St Paul, and an introductory memoir of the author by Mr S. C. Roberts. A volume which begins with a survey of water and springs as valued by ancient Greek writers should certainly not be dry, and Dr Glover's bright and informal style of writing ensures this. The ordinary not specially classic-minded reader will find much to rub in his ignorance and will miss the point of many of the references, but perhaps that will spur him to deeper study—or perhaps not. At any rate the author has done his part well.

'*Spain Everlasting*,' by S. F. A. Coles (Hollis & Carter), is the very agreeably elaborated and amplified note book of a traveller, historian, and poet. The reader is taken from San Sebastian and Roncesvalles to Malaga and Seville, from Barcelona and Valencia to Plasencia and Yuste, from Murcia to Corunna and Santiago de Compostela, with many other well or less well-known places in between. About all Mr Coles has something interesting to say in the way of history, local customs, scenery, architecture, geographical features, and human characters. With the feeling and pen of a poet he paints word pictures for us of Spain and the Spanish, of fertile valleys and high barren mountains, of blazing sunshine and Cantabrian storms. He makes his comments with freedom and clarity—sometimes, as for instance on the subject of monogamy, with a considerable degree of both. A notable feature of the book is the truly splendid photographic reproductions of people and places with which it is illustrated.

Odham's Press has published a useful and instructive work entitled '**Rebuilding Family Life in the Post-War World,**' with contributions by ten well-qualified authorities under the editorship of Sir James Marchant. These contributions include a general introduction by Lord Horder; Statistics of Parenthood, by Richard Titmuss; Economic and Social Aspects of Family Life, by W. B. Reddaway; Nutrition, by Sir John Boyd Orr; Biological Aspects by Professor F. A. Crew; Health and the Family, by Sir Arthur MacNalty; Psychological Aspects of Family Life, by Dr. Eliot Slater; Education and the Birth-rate, by Dr Grace Leybourne White; and finally, what to many will seem most important of all, Spiritual Foundations of the Family, by the Rt Rev. Dr E. J. Hagan. The stark facts remain that the birthrate is dwindling and family life deteriorating, and somehow parents must be persuaded or bribed into putting this right. Children are a financial liability and the more there are the less can be spared for other pleasures. Limiting the family means giving children that are born a better chance. All the now well-known arguments are ably discussed and suggestions made, including some plain speaking about conception, birth, and married life. Authorities like Sir Cyril Norwood, Lord Leathers, the Dean of Westminster and Sir Richard Livingstone welcome the book. Dr Inge calls it 'damnably mischievous.' The ordinary reader will undoubtedly find much of interest.

'**British Painting from Hogarth's Day to Ours,**' by William Gaunt (Central Institute of Art and Design), is an instructive and useful work, adorned by thirty-two well-chosen and well-reproduced plates in colour and duochrome and giving as comprehensive a survey of the subject as twenty-eight double column pages permit. Beginning with a short chapter on the background of painting in this country, we pass to Hogarth and the earlier landscape painters. Then we come to the Nineteenth Century, the Impressionist Era, and the Modern Age. Romney, Hoppner, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Constable, Crome, Turner, Wilkie, Cotman, Cox, Raeburn, Lawrence, Rossetti, Millais, Morris, Burne-Jones, Landseer, Whistler, Beardsley, Nicholson, Stevens, Watts, Fry, Nevins, Orpen, Newton, Sickert, and Steer are among

the artists dealt with. Special stress is laid on the water colourists 'who alone constitute a national school,' and in whom this country excels. There is also an interesting account of the pre-Raphaelites, 'rebels against the industrial system and mechanised living as we know it.' 'The painter in the eighteenth century was an honest tradesman catering for aristocratic pictures; in the Victorian hey-day he was a wealthy professional man serving the middle class; the latter half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of the artist without social or economic explanation.' This book should appeal to the ordinary educated reader who can claim no expert knowledge. There is an equally instructive and well-illustrated companion volume, '**French Painting**,' by T. W. Earp, with forty-four plates. Voltaire said that French painting began with Poussin, and he is the starting-point of this volume. Thence we are led through the classic and romantic, the return to nature, Realism, Impressionism, and post-Impressionism with some account of old favourites like Claude Lorrain, Watteau, Fragonard, Boucher, Greuze, Corot, Millet to Manet, Cézanne, Renoir, Degas, Picasso, Utrillo, and Rouault.

A very useful addition to the Current Problems series published by the Cambridge University Press is '**Problems of the Countryside**,' by Dr C. S. Orwin, Fellow and Estates Bursar of Balliol College and Director of the Agricultural Economic Institute in the University of Oxford. We are told by the publishers that Dr Orwin 'takes the lid off English village society and shows the reality against the sentimental picture.' Undoubtedly he shows how much reorganisation of village life is required to make it economically satisfactory and socially attractive. The beauty of the rural scene is indeed often very striking, but it can hardly be accepted as 'a set off for low wages, bad housing, lack of public services, inferior education, and absence of social life. However, there should be no conflict, nor should the advocacy of higher material standards earn the reproach of a neglect of spiritual values.' Dr Orwin favours the decentralisation of industry to repopulate the villages and give them new life, and in this he is at variance with the Scott Committee's report. Semi-industrial regions, which are no

longer real country nor real towns, spread all over the land are a horrible idea, but Dr Orwin is convinced that this spoliation need not take place and he puts his case with authority and persuasiveness.

The study of past history is undoubtedly a helpful guide to solving present problems, so students of India should read books like '**The Economic History of India, 1600-1800,**' by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee of Lucknow University (Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay). A vast amount of detailed information is given about the rise and fall of trade and commerce, about agriculture, population and prices, industries and markets, standards of living among rich and poor, and kindred matters, with excellent maps of trade routes at various times. 'The period,' writes the author, 'represents at once the golden age of Indian trade and industry and the beginning of her economic downfall, that was as sudden as it was complete and unprecedented. This economic downfall was facilitated not only by the European commercial monopoly and embargo against Indian calicoes and muslin that threatened the ruin of woollen and silk industries of Europe, but also by the steady depreciation of the value of silver, scarcity of copper, and currency confusion introduced by Aurangzeb.' The author does not agree with Sir John Seeley's dictum that 'nothing greater that has ever been done by Englishmen was done so unintentionally, so accidentally as the conquest of India.' Dr Mukerjee declares that from the beginning Englishmen were determined to gain territory and power as well as trade monopoly, but perhaps he does not make clear enough how much the disintegration of the Moghul Empire compelled the British to turn their factories into forts and their trading posts into organised permanent settlements. The reading of this book requires concentration, but it is worth it.

In '**The Lyrical Woodlands**' (F. Lewis, Ltd.) we have fresh and welcome evidence that Lady Margaret Sackville is in the first rank of living poets of her sex. Always something of a pantheist, in this volume the poet sings entirely of Nature in all her varied moods. In the opening poem beginning 'September is my Month' we are by means of majestic phrase and skilfully reiterated image brought face to face with Autumn in all her dishevelled

splendour ; it is not only a lovely poem, it is an experience :

... as though the setting sun had trailed
His garments through the woods and left there fragments
Of glory caught by the clinging boughs which failed
To hold him captive.

' I know the Silent Woods Enfold ' is a joyous reminder that the lyric has always been amongst Lady Margaret's best-loved and most successful measures. ' Stiffly Do Pines ' is a rare synthesis of poetry and exact and loving observation. Indeed the whole volume confirms our belief that the poet not only worships nature, but knows and understands her. The rhapsody on the Elmscott Oak does not, however, quite come off, being somewhat facile. The last and longest poem, inspired by the trees of Oxford, bespeaks a civilised reconciliation between town and country :

You'll find no place, search where or how you may,
So countrified, so urban, and so gay,
Or where in perfect union, wild yet free,
Live on an equal footing street and tree.

The publishers deserve thanks for an admirable example of post-war book-making. Readers of the quarterly known as ' The Tree Lover ' will not need to be told that its editor, Dr. Lonsdale Ragg, has enhanced the poems by his beautiful illustrations. His sensitive drawings are subordinate to, but not overshadowed by, the poetry. This is collaboration at its best. Striking as is the wrapper designed by Mr E. A. Cox, it is hardly in keeping, nor does it prepare us, as a portal should, for the treasures within.

A most deservedly popular book is ' The Royal Family in Wartime,' produced and published by Odham's Press, by the generosity of which and its chairman, Lord Southwood, all the proceeds of sales are to be devoted to King George's Jubilee Trust. Here, in about 130 pages with over 100 well-selected and well-reproduced illustrations and with the text written by a well-known and highly skilled journalist, we have a clear and succinct record of some of the unending activities of the King and members of his family: visits to armies and fleets, visits to factories and workshops, visits to bombed homes and

rest centres, hospitals and institutions, travel by land, sea, and air; investitures, processions, and services of intercession and thanksgiving. Luckily in this country and in the loyal hearts of its dwellers the Monarchy needs no justification, but if one were needed what could be stronger than this proof of ceaseless work, devotion to duty, leadership, and human sympathy. Rightly the book ends with the V-day celebrations outside Buckingham Palace and the greetings to and from the King and his family—a typical London scene at times of great national emotion, but greatly showing the true feelings and wisdom of the nation.

'Prospects of the Industrial Areas of Great Britain,' by M. P. Fogarty, with an Introduction by G. D. H. Cole (Methuen), is a book 'based principally on some fifty regional reports submitted to the Government between 1941 and 1943 . . . for the most part prepared by University Departments of Economics or Geography or by Tutors engaged in University extra-mural work or on the staff of the W.E.A.' It is the first-fruits of the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey.

Clearly an immense amount of work has gone into the compilation. What is not so clear is the reason why the moving spirits decided to make their *initial* approach geographical. The basic problems are at least nationwide: for example, prospects on the Clyde and Tyne depend principally on the prospects of the shipbuilding and ship-repairing industries generally; world-wide requirements of new shipping will mainly determine the former, and such factors as the effect of restricted imports on the tonnage entering British ports will influence the latter.

The General Editors of the Survey seem unaware that even in the early years of the War Whitehall, at a high official level, was paying close attention to the same problems as themselves. It is regrettable (but perhaps inevitable under wartime conditions) that they should have had to work without Whitehall collaboration. For the three great Supply Departments, in their administration of War Industry, naturally accumulated a greater and more intimate and more integrated knowledge of industrial affairs than was possible for any unofficial body. It is particularly regrettable that there should have been

no collaboration at the regional level. The Regional Boards could undoubtedly have been of the greatest assistance ; but they are not mentioned in the index, so presumably they were not consulted.

These general criticisms are not intended to under-rate the value of the survey accomplished, or the importance of the problem of the location of industry generally. The old patterns, based on local sources of power (coal or water) and short-haul of raw materials are to-day in flux. The Grid has released a considerable range of industries from the former, and improved transport has weakened the effect of the latter. Labour is the prime consideration to-day. Where an industry requires a tradition of certain skills or working conditions this is of course a conservative factor (e.g. wool remains in Yorkshire, though water-power no longer drives the mills : brass-founding at Birmingham, though the local sands have run out). But the pursuit of manpower has also led to the industrialisation of new areas, both urban and rural ; and here the Survey provides some very valuable data. For the problem is one that requires the most careful watching if chaotic conditions in the field of industrial location analogous to those created in the field of housing by ribbon-development are to be avoided. The problem is by no means only one of ' full employment ' at all costs.



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